SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

OF

M. K. GANDHI

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

MR. C. F. ANDREWS

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH BY

MR. H. S. L. POLAK

RS. THREE

G. A. NATESAN & Co.,

MADRAS

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"He had used his wealth and his power for what he knew both to be worth: he had taken honour when it came in his ways; he had seen men and cities far and near, and men and cities had stood up and honoured him. Now he would let these things go as a man drops the cloak he needs no longer."— Kipling.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

The first edition of this book was published in December 1917. The increasing demand for more copies of the "Speeches" has called for a new edition within twelve months of its publication.

In issuing this revised edition the publishers have spared no effort to make the collection as comprehensive and exhaustive as possible. Though the original plan of presenting the subject matter of the volume under suitable divisions has been maintained, the publishers have happily been able to improve upon it considerably by the addition of many fresh and rare papers not included in the first edition.

A special feature of this edition is the inclusion of a biographical sketch of Mr. Gandhi together with a clear and succinct account of the great South African struggle by Mr. H. S. L. Polak, and a graphic description of the historic march of the Indentured Indians under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi.

Another interesting feature is the addition of numerous portraits of Mr. Gandhi's friends and fellow-workers and some cartoons illustrative of different phases of the struggle in South Africa as also appreciations of Mr. Gandhi's life and character by Count Tolstoy, Prof. Gilbert Murray, Lord Ampthill and others.

The publishers desire to take this opportunity to convey their thanks to Mr. Gandhi for the permission accorded to them to bring out this edition of his speeches and writings and for furnishing them with copies of several of his hitherto unpublished speeches as also with English translations of some of his writings and addresses in Gujarati and Hindi.

They are also obliged to Mr. Andrews not only for the Prefatory Note affixed to this book but for revising a considerable portion of this edition.

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INTRODUCTION.

It appears to me unnecessary for any prefatory note to be written to the Life and Speeches of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi; they live and speak for themselves. Personally, I have had such a great shrinking from writing anything, during his life-time, about one whom I reverence so deeply, that I have many times refused to do so. But a promise given in an unguarded moment now claims fulfilment, and I will write very briefly.

To Mr. Gandhi, any swerving from the truth, even in casual utterance, is intolerable; his speeches must be read as stating uncompromisingly what he feels to be true. They are in no sense diplomatic, or opportunist, or merely 'political,' using the word in its narrower sense. He never pays empty compliments: he never hesitates to say, for the truth's sake, what may be unpalatable to his audience.

I shrink, as I have said, out of the very reverence that I have for him, from writing for the cold printed page about his character; but I may perhaps not offend by setting down something, however inadequate, concerning his intellectual convictions. It is of the utmost importance to understand these; because, in his case, they are held so strongly, as to bind fast his whole life and to stamp it with an originality, all its own.

The greatest of all these is his conviction of the eternal and fundamental efficacy of *ahimsa.* What this means to him, will be explained a hundred times over in the writings which follow. To Mr. Gandhi,—it would not be too much to say,—*ahimsa* is the key to all higher existence. It is the divine life itself. I have never yet been able to reconcile this with his own recruiting campaign, for war purposes, during the year 1918. But he was, himself, able to reconcile it; and some day, no doubt, he will give to the world the logical background of that reconciliation. Leaving aside the question of this exceptional case, I do not think that there has been any more vital and inspiring contribution to ethical truth, in our own generation, than Mr. Gandhi's fearless logic in the practice of *ahimsa.* Sir Gilbert Murray's article in the *Hibbert Journal* has made this fact known to the larger world of humanity outside India.

A second intellectual conviction is the paramount use of religious vows in the building up of the spiritual life. Personally, I find it far more difficult to follow Mr. Gandhi here. Especially I dread the vow of celibacy which he, not unfrequently, recommends. It appears to me unnatural and abnormal. But here, again, he has often told me, I do not understand his position.

The further convictions, which are expressed in his writing, concerning the dignity and necessity for manual labour,—the simplification of society,—the healing

powers of nature as a remedy for all disease,—the *Swadeshi* spirit,—the false basis of modern civilisation, —all these will be studied with the deepest interest. They will be seen, through Mr. Gandhi's Speeches, in a perspective which has not been made evident in any other writer. For, whatever may be our previous opinion, whether we agree or disagree with Mr. Gandhi's position, he compels us to think anew and to discard conventional opinion.

I am painfully conscious of the inadequacy, and perhaps the inconsequence, of these slight notes, as an introduction to the great subject which follows, and I can only plead, in excuse, the strain of work from which I have been unable to get free.

C. F. ANDREWS.

A WORD OF TRIBUTE.

It is hardly possible for any Indian to mention Mr. Gandhi's name without deep emotion and pride. The name reminds us of the noble and inestimable services which this singularly great man,—"Saint, Martyr and Patriot"—has rendered to his country. It recalls to our mind the story of the sufferings of thousands of our countrymen in South Africa. It recalls also how, at a supreme moment in the South African Indian struggle, Mr. Gandhi, for the first time perhaps in the history of the world, resolved to employ the weapon of passive resistance to win the struggle into which he and his countrymen had thrown themselves heart and soul. It was a bold, unprecedented step which Mr. Gandhi took at the moment. He and his countrymen were to fight not with vituperation, not with violence, not with organised riots and revolution, but with the strength of soul-force. The soul-force of Indians was pitted against the brute-force of the white population in South Africa. Indians who joined the struggle in hundreds and thousands refused to obey the law and suffered in their own persons, the consequences of such disobedience, and the spectacle afforded India and the world a magnificent example of self-denial and suffering for the sake of a peaceful and orderly agitation. For years the struggle went on, often-

times under the most desperate conditions, and yet not one of the Indians was accused of using violence of any sort or employing methods of which he need be ashamed. And throughout, it was a magnificent and heroic struggle for right and for justice, and success was bound to attend on it in the end. It was a sight for the Gods.

Mr. Gandhi and his brave band have succeeded in removing the racial bar, have asserted the rights of Indians in South Africa to be consulted on all matters affecting their welfare and more than all have made the authorities remember that an Asiatic has rights and that the British Indian subject carries with him the elementary rights of British citizenship, and even a selfish band of Colonials are bound to respect them to some extent at least. Mr. Gandhi, who twenty years ago was hated and despised by the white population in South Africa, is now an object of veneration everywhere. He fought so hard and so steadfastly and yet so constitutionally. In his hands and in the hands of the handful of Indians who were living in far off South Africa, was the honour and self-respect of their Motherland. They have faught for it, suffered for it and preserved it untarnished. Aye, they have added to its glory. It is difficult to single out from the great and noble patriots of this land of ours, living or dead, any who can be said to equal Mr. Gandhi. Patriots there have been and patriots there will be. It would be no exaggeration to say that of no one can

it be said except Mr. Gandhi that in him patriotism has been a living faith, patriotism has been the real abnegation of the self and the surrender of all that is most near and dear to men in this world.

For the great cause of which he was the representative no suffering was too great to be borne. Was it necessary for the leader to go to jail for the vindication of justice? Mr. Gandhi was ready. Inside and outside the prison walls, under conditions the most wretched and humiliating, he showed the stuff of which heroes are made. Was it necessary that an Indian woman should follow the example? His honoured spouse was ready. Was it necessary that young boys should also follow the lead? Mr. Gandhi's sons obeyed the call of duty. Mr. Gandhi, a high caste Hindu, the son of a Prime-Minister of a great Native State, the thriving barrister, a man who had enjoyed all the comforts aud luxuries of the world, had sacrificed his practice, his profession, his health, his wealth, his fortune, and everything at the altar of his country's cause and borne cheerfully even the felon's fetters for maintaining the honour and self-respect of his Motherland.

The thousands of Indians who obeyed him readily without a murmur and who were ready to follow him wherever he desired were not educated in any sense of the word. They were poor men, born of the people, brought up among the people, pursuing their peaceful and humble avocations among the people—as barbers, washermen, hawkers and traders.

Neither B. A.'s nor M. A.'s of our Universities, knowing nothing of the liberalism of Lord Morley or the radicalism of John Stuart Mill, and indeed never having read a single syllable about the elementary rights of man or of liberty, equality and fraternity, at the call of duty and under the guidance of a singularly noble soul, they were ready to throw themselves into a struggle which involved untold sufferings and unmentionable humiliations. Several homes were rendered desolate, several trading concerns were closed or completely ruined. And yet nothing could daunt them, nothing could prevent them from pursuing the path of duty which had been pointed out to them by their honoured leader. Long, trying and painful was their suffering and yet how willingly, how cheerfully, they bore it all? They fought, they resolutely and bravely fought for the honour and the good name of their race and their country. All honour therefore to Mr. Gandhi who "has moulded heroes out of clay." And even if the cause of the South African Indians had utterly failed and their heroic campaign had proved futile, the legacy of the great spiritual asset given by Mr. Gandhi to his countrymen will be a proud possession indeed. As the late Mr. Gokhale observed of him, "a purer, a nobler, a braver and a more exalted spirit has never moved on this earth. Mr. Gandhi is one of those men, who living an austerely simple life themselves and devoted to all the highest principles of love to their fellow-beings and to truth and justice, touch the eyes of their

TOLSTOY

M. K. GANDHI

M. K. GANDHI: A SKETCH.

By Mr. H. S. L. POLAK.

THE scene is laid in Johannesburg. Summer is coming, and the days are lengthening out. At Park Station, at 6 o'clock on a Sunday evening, in September, 1908, whilst it was still broad daylight, a small, animated group of dark-skinned people might have been observed eagerly looking in the direction from which the mail train from Natal, that stops at Volksrust, was expected. The watchers were Madrassi hawkers, who were, apparently, awaiting the arrival of one affectionately regarded by them. Punctually to time, the train steamed in, and there was observed, descending from a second-class compartment, attended by a prison-warder in uniform, a small, slim, dark, active man, with calm eyes and a serene countenance. He was clad in the garb of a South African native convict—small military cap, that did not protect him from the sun, loose, coarse jacket, bearing a numbered ticket, and marked with the broad-arrow, short trousers, one leg dark, the other light, similarly marked, thick grey woollen socks, and leather sandals. But it was plain that he was not a South African native, and upon closer scrutiny, one became aware that he, too, was an Indian, like those who respectfully saluted him, as he turned quietly to the warder for instructions. He was carrying a white canvas bag, which held his clothing and other effects found upon him when he was received by the gaol authorities, and also a small basket containing books. He had been sent by the Government to travel nearly two hundred miles, for many hours, without food or the means of procuring it, as the warder had no funds for that purpose, and but for the charity of a European friend—a Government official—he would have had to starve for twenty-four hours. A brief consultation ensued between the prisoner and the warder. The latter appeared to realise the incongruity of the situation, for he bore himself

towards the prisoner with every reasonable mark of respect. The latter was evidently a person of some importance, to whom a considerable amount of deference should be shown. The subject of conversation was whether the prisoner preferred to go by cab or to walk to the gaol. If the former, he (the prisoner) would have to pay for it. He, however, declined the easier method of locomotion, choosing to walk three-quarters of a mile in broad daylight, in his convict suit, to the gaol, and resolutely shouldering his bag, he briskly stepped out, the Madrassi hawkers shamefacedly following at some distance. Later, he disappeared within the grim portals of the Johannesburg goal, above which is carved, in Dutch, the motto, "Union makes strength."

Five years have passed. On the dusty, undulating road from Standerton to Greylingstad, for a distance of three miles, is seen a long, trailing "army" of men who, on closer inspection, are recognisable as Indians of the labouring classes, to the number of some two thousand. Upon questioning them, it would be found that they had been gathered from the coal-mines of Northern Natal, where they had been working under indenture, or as "free" men, liable to the £3 annual tax upon the freedom of themselves, their wives, their sons of 16 years, and their daughters of thirteen. They had marched from Newcastle to Charlestown, whence they had crossed the border into the Transvaal, at Volksrust. They were now marching stolidly and patiently on, until they reached Tolstoy Farm, near Johannesburg, or they were arrested, as prohibited immigrants, by the Government. Thus they had marched for several days on a handful of rice, bread, and sugar a day, carrying with them all their few worldly belongings, hopeful that, at the end, the burden of the hated £3 tax would be removed from their shoulders. They appeared to place implicit trust in a small, limping, bent, but dogged man, coarsely dressed, and using a staff, painfully marching at the head of the straggling column, but with a serene and peaceful countenance, and a look of sureness and content. A nearer inspection of this strange figure discloses the same individual that we have already

seen entering the forbidding portals of the "Fort," at Johannesburg. But how much older looking and care-worn! He has taken a vow to eat only one poor meal a day, until the iniquitous tax upon the honour and chastity of his brothers and sisters shall have been repealed. Upon him, as the foremost protagonist of the movement, has fallen the main burden and responsibility of organising one of the greatest and noblest protests against tyranny that the world has ever seen during the preceding seven years. Time has left its mark upon him!

The man is Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Dewan's son, Barrister-at-Law, scholar, student, cultured Indian gentleman, and leader of his people. Because he preferred to obey the dictates of conscience, because he placed honour before comfort or even life itself, because he chose not to accept an insult to his Motherland, because he strove so that right should prevail and that his people might have life, a civilised, Christian Government in a Colony over which waves the British flag, deemed that the best way to overcome such dangerous contumacy was to cast his body into gaol, where at one time he was compelled to herd with and starve upon the diet of the most degraded aboriginal native felons, men barely emerging from the condition of brute-beasts, or rather, with all their human aspirations and instincts crushed out of them by the treatment accorded to them under the "civilising" process of the Transvaal's colour legislation.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on the 2nd October, 1869. Though he has a Brahmin's spirituality and desire to serve and teach, he is not a Brahmin. Though he has a Kshattriya's courage and devotion, he is not a Kshattriya. He belongs to an old Bania family resident in Kathiawar, politics being a heritage of the family. His forefathers were Dewans of the State of Porbandar in that Province, his father having been Dewan of that State for 25 years, as also of Rajkote and other States in Kathiawar. He was likewise, at one time, a member of the Rajasthanik Sabha, having been nominated thereto by the Government of Bombay. Mr. Gandhi's father was known to and loved by all with whom he

came in contact, and he did not hesitate, if the need came, to oppose the will of the Rana of Porbandar and of the Political Agent, when he thought that they were adopting a wrong or unworthy line of conduct. That particular trait has evidently descended to his youngest son. Mr. Gandhi's mother was an orthodox Hindu lady, rigid in her observance of religious obligations, strict in the performance of her duties as wife and mother, and stern in her determination that her children should grow up good and honest men and women. Between her youngest son and herself existed a strong affection, and her religious example and influence left a lasting impression upon his character. Mohandas Gandhi received his education partly in Kathiawar and partly in London. It was only with the greatest difficulty that his mother could be prevailed upon to consent to his crossing the waters, and before doing so, she exacted from him a threefold vow, administered by a Jain priest, that he would abstain from flesh, alcohol, and women. And this vow was faithfully and whole-heartedly kept amidst all the temptations of student life in London. Young Gandhi became an undergraduate of London University and afterwards joined the Inner Temple, whence he emerged in due course a barrister-at-law. He returned to India immediately after his call, and was at once admitted as an advocate of the Bombay High Court, in which capacity he began practice with some success.

In 1893, Mr. Gandhi was induced to go to South Africa, proceeding to Natal and then to the Transvaal, in connection with an Indian legal case of some difficulty. Almost immediately upon landing at Durban, disillusionment awaited him. Brought up in British traditions of the equality of all British subjects, an honoured guest in the capital of the Empire, he found that, in the British Colony of Natal, he was regarded as a pariah, scarcely higher than a savage aboriginal native of the soil. He applied for admission as an Advocate of the Supreme Court of Natal, but his application was opposed by the Law Society on the ground that the law did not contemplate that a coloured person should be admitted to practise.

Fortunately, the Supreme Court viewed the matter in a different light and granted the application. But Mr. Gandhi received sudden warning of what awaited him in the years to come.

In 1894, on the urgent invitation of the Natal Indian Community, he decided to remain in the Colony, in order that he might be of service in the political troubles that he foresaw in the near future. In that year, together with a number of prominent members of the community, he founded the Natal Indian Congress, being for some years its honorary secretary, in which capacity he drafted a number of petitions and memorials admirable in construction, lucid and simple in phraseology, clear and concise in the manner of setting forth the subject-matter. He took a leading part in the successful attempt to defeat the Asiatics' Exclusion Act passed by the Natal Parliament and in the unsuccessful one to prevent the disfranchisement of the Indian community, though the effort made obliged the Imperial authorities to insist that this disfranchisement should be effected along non-racial lines. At the end of 1895, he returned to India, being authorised by the Natal and Transvaal Indians to represent their grievances to the Indian public. This he did by means of addresses and a pamphlet, the mutilated contents of which were summarised by Reuter and cabled to Natal, where they evoked a furious protest on the part of the European colonists. The telegram ran thus: "A pamphlet published in India declares that the Indians in Natal are robbed and assaulted, and treated like beasts, and are unable to obtain redress. The *Times of India* advocates an enquiry into these allegations."

This message was certainly not the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, though it had elements of truth in it. About the same time, Mr. Gandhi returned to Durban with his family, and with him, though independently of him, travelled several compatriots. The rumour arose that he was bringing with him a number of skilled Indian workers with the express object of ousting the European artisans from the field of employment, and the two circumstances combined to stimulate in the colonists,

high and low alike, all the worst passions, and feeling ran so high that the Attorney-General, Mr. Escombe, felt himself obliged to side with the popular party, and accordingly gave instructions that the vessels bringing Mr. Gandhi and his companions should be detained in quarantine. The quarantine was only raised when the ship-owners announced their intention of taking legal action against the Government. The vessels now came alongside the wharf, but the crowd that assembled became so hostile that a police inspector, who came on board, warned Mr. Gandhi of his own personal danger if he landed then, and urged him to delay the landing until night. A little later, however, a well-known member of the Natal Bar came on board specially to greet Mr. Gandhi and offer his services, and Mr. Gandhi at once determined to land without waiting for darkness to come, trusting, as he himself expressed it, to the British sense of justice and fair play. He was soon recognised however, set upon, and half-killed, when the wife of the Superintendent of Police, who recognised him, ran to his rescue, and raising her umbrella over him, defied the crowd and accompanied him to the store of an Indian friend. Mr. Gandhi was, however, in order to save his friend's property, obliged to escape disguised as a police constable.

The affair was at end, popular passions calmed down and the newspapers apologised to him, though the incident demonstrated the temper of the mob towards the resident Indian community. Years afterwards, meeting Mr. Gandhi one day, Mr. Escombe expressed profound regret at his connexion with this unsavoury business, declaring that, at the time, he was unacquainted with Mr. Gandhi's personal merits and those of the community to which he belonged. Half an hour later he was found dead in the streets, stricken down by heart-disease.

In 1899, at the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War, Mr. Gandhi, after considerable opposition, induced the Government to accept the offer of an Indian Ambulance Corps. The Corps was one thousand strong and saw active service, being on one occasion, at least, under heavy fire, and on another, removing the dead body of Lord

Roberts' only son from the field. The Corps was favourably reported on, and Mr. Gandhi was mentioned in despatches, afterwards receiving the war medal. His object in offering the services of a body of Indians to do even the most menial work was to show that the Indian community desired to take their full share of public responsibilities, and that just as they knew how to demand rights, so they also knew how to assume obligations. And that has been the keynote of Mr. Gandhi's public work from the beginning.

Writing in the *Illustrated Star* of Johannesburg in July 1911, a European, who had taken part in that campaign, says :—

My first meeting with Mr. M. K. Gandhi was under strange circumstances. It was on the road from Spion Kop, after the fateful retirement of the British troops in January, 1900. The previous afternoon I saw the Indian mule-train moved up the slopes of the Kop carrying water to the distressed soldiers who had lain powerless on the plateau. The mules carried the water in immense bags, one on each side, led by Indians at their heads. The galling rifle-fire, which heralded their arrival on the top, did not deter the strangely-looking cavalcade which moved slowly forward, and as an Indian fell, another quietly stepped forward to fill the vacant place. Afterwards the grim duty of the bearer corps, which Mr. Gandhi organised in Natal, began. It was on such occasions the Indians proved their fortitude, and the one with the greatest fortitude of all was the subject of this sketch. After a night's work, which had shattered men with much bigger frames, I came across Gandhi in the early morning sitting by the roadside—eating a regulation army biscuit. Every man in Buller's force was dull and depressed, and damnation was heartily invoked on everything. But Gandhi was stoical in his bearing, cheerful, and confident in his conversation, and had a kindly eye. He did one good. It was an informal introduction, and it led to a friendship. I saw the man and his small undisciplined corps on many a field of battle during the Natal campaign. When succour was to be rendered they were there. Their unassuming dauntlessness cost them many lives, and eventually an order was published forbidding them to go into the firing-line. Gandhi simply did his duty then, and his comment the other evening in the moment of his triumph, at the dinner to the Europeans who had supported the Indian movement, when some hundreds of his countrymen and a large number of Europeans paid him a noble tribute, was that he had simply done his duty.

In 1901, owing to a breakdown in health, Mr. Gandhi went to India, taking his family with him. Before he

went, however, the Natal Indian Community presented him, Mrs. Gandhi, and his children with valuable gold plate and jewellery. He refused, however, to accept a single item of this magnificent gift, putting it on one side to be used for public purposes, should the need arise. The incident but endeared him the more to the people, who realised once again how selfless was the work that he had so modestly and unassumingly undertaken. Before the Ambulance Corps left for the front, its member had been publicly entertained by the late Sir John Robinson, then Prime Minister of Natal, and on the occasion of the presentation to Mr. Gandhi by the Indian community, he addressed a letter to the organisers of the ceremony, in which, after excusing his unavoidable absence, he said:

> It would have given me great pleasure to have been present on the occasion of so well-earned a mark of respect to our able and distinguished fellow-citizen, Mr. Gandhi . . . . . Not the less heartily do I wish all success to this public recognition of the good work done and the many services rendered to the community by Mr. Gandhi.

On his arrival in Bombay, Mr. Gandhi once more resumed practice, as he then had no intention of returning to South Africa, believing that, with the end of the war, a new era had arrived. Scarcely, however, had he returned from the Calcutta Congress, where, under Mr. Wacha, he did some very useful organising work unobtrusively, when he received an urgent telegram from Natal, peremptorily calling him back to South Africa to draft the memorials to Mr. Chamberlain, whose visit was imminent, to take charge of the work required to secure the removal of existing grievances and to place Indian affairs finally on a higher level. Without a moment's hesitation, he obeyed the call of duty, and a new chapter opened in his life. In Natal, he had been able to overcome official prejudice and was high in the esteem of all those Heads of Departments and Ministers with whom his public duties brought him into contact. But when, after heading a deputation to Mr. Chamberlain in Natal, he was called to the Transvaal for a similar purpose, he found all officialdom hostile,

and he was refused the right to attend upon Mr. Chamberlain as a member of a deputation of Transvaal Indians; and it was only after the utmost endeavours that he prevailed upon the Indian community to send a deputation that did not include him. Finding that the situation was becoming rapidly worse, and being without a trained guide, the Transvaal Indians pressed him to remain with them, and this he at last consented to do, being admitted to practise as an Attorney of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal. In 1903, together with other communal leaders, he founded the Transvaal British Indian Association, of which, until his final departure from South Africa, he was the honorary secretary and principal legal adviser. In 1904, an outbreak of plague occurred in the Indian Location, Johannesburg, largely owing to gross negligence on the part of the Municipal authorities, in spite of repeated warnings of the insanitary conditions prevailing. A week before the official announcement of the outbreak, Mr. Gandhi sent a final warning that plague had already broken out, but his statement was officially denied. When, however, a public admission of the existence of plague could no longer be withheld, but before the Municipal authorities had taken any steps to cope with the disease, he at once organised a private hospital and nursing home, and, together with a few devoted friends, personally tended the plague patients; and this work was formally appreciated by the Municipal authorities. In the same year, owing to arbitration proceedings between expropriated Indian stand-holders in the Location and the Johannesburg Municipality, in which he was busily engaged, he earned large professional fees which he afterwards devoted in their entirety to public purposes.

About the middle of 1903, it had occurred to him that, if the South African Indians were to be brought into closer association with each other and with their European fellow-colonists, and to be politically and socially educated, it was absolutely necessary to have a newspaper and, after consultation, he provided the greater part of the capital for its inauguration, with the late Mr. M. H. Nazar, as editor, and thus *Indian Opinion* was born. It was

first published in English, Gujarati, Hindi, and Tamil. For various reasons, it afterwards became necessary to dispense with the Tamil and Hindi columns. But although Mr. Gandhi, had, in theory, delegated much of the work of conducting the paper to others, he was unremitting in his own efforts to make it a success. His purse was ever open to make good the deficits that continually occurred owing to the circumstances of its production, and to its English and Gujarati columns he contributed month after month and year after year out of the fund of his own political and spiritual wisdom and his unique knowledge of South African Indian affairs.

Towards the end of 1904, however, finding that the paper was absorbing all the money that could be spared without making any appreciable financial headway, he went to Durban to investigate the situation. During the journey he became absorbed in the perusal of Ruskin's "Unto this Last," and he received certain impressions that were confirmed whilst on a visit to some relatives, who had started a trading enterprise in an upcountry village. His conclusions were that the town conditions in which the paper was produced were such as almost to compel unlimited waste, to act as a check upon the originality and individuality of the workers, and to prevent the realisation of his dearest desire to so infuse the columns of the paper with a spirit of tolerance and persuasiveness as to bring together all that was best in the European and Indian communities, whose fate it was to dwell side by side, either mutually hostile to or suspicious of each other, or amicably co-operating in the securing of the welfare of the State and the building-up of a wise administration of its assets. Accordingly, he determined that the very first thing to be done was to put an end to the divorce of the workers from the land, and from this determination arose what has since become known as the Phœnix Settlement. Phœnix is situated about 12 miles from Durban, in the midst of a sugar-growing country, and Mr. Gandhi invested his savings in the purchase of an estate of about 100 acres of land about two miles distant from the station, on which were erected

the press buildings and machinery. A number of selected Indians and Europeans were invited to become settlers, and the original conditions were these—that they should have entire management of all the assets of the press, including the land itself; that each should practically vow himself to a life of poverty, accepting no more than £ 3 (Rs. 45) a month, expenses being high in South Africa, and an equal share in the profits, if any; that a house should be built for him, for which he should pay when able, and in whatever instalments might seem suitable to him, without interest; that he should have two acres of land as his own for cultivation, payment being on similar conditions, and that he should devote himself to working for the public good, *Indian Opinion* being meanwhile the mainspring of the work. Whilst the fundamental principles remained, it became necessary later, in the light of further experience, to modify these conditions. Subsequently the Phœnix settlers extended the scope of their labours, and it is hoped to undertake the task of educating some at least of the children of the lakh-and-a-half of Indians in South Africa. It is true that, in comparison with the magnitude of the task, but a small beginning has been made, but this is principally due to the lack of qualified workers and also to the state of the exchequer.

In 1906, a native rebellion broke out in Natal due to many causes, but realising that bloodshed was imminent and that hospital work would necessarily ensue therefrom, Mr. Gandhi offered, on behalf of the Natal Indians, a Stretcher-Bearer Corps, which, after some delay, was accepted. Meanwhile, he had sent his family to Phœnix, where he thought it was most proper that they should live, rather than in the dirt, noise, and restlessness of the town. He himself volunteered to lead the Corps, which was on active service for a month, being mentioned in despatches and publicly congratulated and thanked by the Governor for the valuable services rendered. Each member of the Corps has had awarded to him the medal especially struck for the occasion, and as an indication of the manner in which the Transvaal appreciated the work so selflessly

performed by Mr. Gandhi and his Corps, it may be noted that, together with at least three other members of the Corps, as well as some who belonged to or helped to fit out the old Ambulance Corps, he was flung into gaol, to associate with criminals of the lowest type. The work of the Corps was, besides that of carrying stretchers and marching on foot behind Mounted Infantry, through dense bush, sometimes thirty miles a day, in the midst of a savage enemy's country, unarmed and unprotected to perform the task of hospital assistants and to nurse the wounded natives, who had been callously shot down by the colonial troopers, or had been cruelly lashed by military command. Mr. Gandhi does not like to speak his mind about what he saw or learnt on this occasion. But many times he must have had searchings of conscience as to the propriety of his allying himself, even in that merciful capacity, with those capable of such acts of revolting and inexcusable brutality. However, it is well to know that nearly all his solicitude was exercised on behalf of aboriginal native patients, and one saw the Dewan's son ministering to the needs and allaying the sufferings of some of the most undeveloped types of humanity, whose odour, habits, and surroundings must have been extremely repugnant to a man of refined tastes—though Mr. Gandhi himself will not admit this.

Scarcely had he returned to Johannesburg to resume practice (he had left his office to look after itself during his absence), than a thunderbolt was launched by the Transvaal Government by the promulgation of the Draft Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, whose terms are now familiar throughout the length and breadth of India. After years of plotting and scheming, the anti-Asiatics of the Transvaal, having first secured the willing services of an administrative department anxious to find an excuse for the continuance of its own existence, compelled the capitulation of the executive itself with the afore-mentioned result. Mr. Gandhi at once realised what was afoot, and understood immediately that, unless the Indian community adopted a decided attitude of protest, which would be backed up, if necessary, by resolute action, the

whole Indian population of South Africa was doomed, and he accordingly took counsel with the leading members of the community, who agreed that the measure must be fought to the bitter end. Mr. Gandhi is chiefly responsible for the initiation of the policy of passive resistance that was so successfully carried out by the Indians of South Africa during the next eight years. Since that day, Mr. Gandhi's history has been mainly that of the Passive Resistance struggle. All know how he took the oath not to submit to the Law on the 11th September, 1906; how he went to England with a compatriot in the same year, and how their vigorous pleading induced Lord Elgin to suspend the operation of the objectionable legislation; how, when the law finally received the Royal assent, he threw himself into the forefront of the fight, and, by speech, pen, and example, inspired the whole community to maintain an adamantine front to the attack that was being made upon the very foundations of its religion, its national honour, its racial self-respect, its manhood. No one was, therefore, surprised when, at the end of 1907, Mr. Gandhi was arrested, together with a number of other leaders, and consigned to gaol; or how, when he heard that some of his friends in Pretoria had been sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour, the maximum penalty, he pleaded with the Magistrate to impose this penalty upon him too, as he had been the acknowledged leader and inspirer of the opposition against this Law. To him it was a terrible shock that his followers were being more harshly treated than he himself, and it was with bowed head and deep humiliation that he left the Court, sentenced to two months' simple imprisonment only. Happily, the Government realised the seriousness of the situation, and after three weeks' imprisonment of the leading passive resisters, General Smuts opened negotiations with them, and a compromise was effected between him and the Indian community, partly written, partly verbal, whereby voluntary registration, which had been repeatedly offered, was accepted conditionally upon the Law being subsequently repealed. This promise of repeal was made personally to Mr. Gandhi by General Smuts, in the presence of official witnesses.

When, shortly afterwards, Mr. Gandhi was nearly killed by a few of his more fanatical fellow-countrymen (who thought he had betrayed them to the Government) as he was on his way to the Registration Office to carry out his pledge to the Government, he issued a letter to the Indian community in which he definitely declared that promise of repeal had been made, General Smuts did not attempt to deny the fact, and, indeed, did not do so until several months later. No one was, however, astonished to find Mr. Gandhi charging General Smuts with breach of faith, and absolutely refusing to compromise himself or the community that he represented, by accepting further legislation that would, in the end, have still further degraded the Indians of South Africa. Having convinced his colleagues that such acceptance on their part was impossible, the struggle recommenced.

Twice more, during this period of Passive Resistance, was he sent to gaol, and then the Government sought to seduce his followers from their allegiance, by imprisoning them in hundreds, and leaving him free. In 1909, whilst his friend and fellow worker, Mr. Polak, was in India, on behalf of the South African Indian community, he and a colleague had gone to England to endeavour to arouse the public conscience there to the enormities that were being perpetrated in South Africa in the name of the British people. Whilst he failed in his main purpose to secure from General Smuts, through the mediation of the Imperial Government, the removal of the racial bar in the Immigration Law, he nevertheless sowed the seeds of the subsequent settlement, for his suggestions were embodied, and their adoption was recommended by the Imperial Government in their despatch to Lord Gladstone, shortly after the creation of the Union of South Africa in the following year.

In 1911, the second "provisional settlement" was effected after the Union Government had, notwithstanding prolonged and sympathetic negotiations with Mr. Gandhi, found themselves unable to discover a formula acceptable alike to the Indian community, the Government themselves,

and Parliament. Nor did the year 1912 show any better promise in the direction of a final settlement. Meanwhile, there occurred the historic visit to South Africa of India's great statesman-patriot, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, who, even then, was suffering from ill-health. Mr. Gandhi, who, for years had regarded him as his own political leader, had invited him to South Africa, not primarily for political reasons, but so that he might nurse his *guru* back to health. Circumstances combined, however, to impose upon Mr. Gokhale a greater physical strain than had been anticipated, in spite of Mr. Gandhi's own devoted personal service. It was pathetic and beautiful to observe the way these two old friends refused to see anything but the best in each other, in spite of their fundamental differences of temperament and often of outlook. To Gandhi, Gokhale was the gallant and selfless paladin, to whom the whole of India looked up as her noblest son. To Gokhale, Gandhi was the very embodiment of saintly self-abnegation, a man whose personal sufferings, splendid and chivalrous leadership, and moral fervour, marked him out as one of the most outstanding figures of the day, the coming leader of his people, who had made the name of his adored Motherland revered and honoured throughout the Empire and beyond, and who had proved beyond dispute the capacity of even his most insignificant countrymen to live and die for her.

During this visit, Mr. Gokhale extracted a promise (afterwards denied) from the principal Union Ministers, that they would introduce legislation repealing the £3 tax. When therefore in 1913, Mr. Gandhi discovered that the Government were not going to fulfil their pledges of 1911, and that they refused to repeal the £3 tax, he denounced the "provisional settlement," and, in September, announced the revival of Passive Resistance and its bodily extension to Natal, where he promptly organised and carrried through the now historic Strike. The events of this last phase of the struggle are too recent in the public memory to need more than the barest recapitulation—the campaign of the Indian women whose marriages had been dishonoured by a fresh decision of the

Supreme Court at the instigation of the Government, the awakening of the free and indentured labourers all over Natal, the tremendous strikes, the wonderful and historic strikers' march of protest into the Transvaal, the horrible scenes enacted later in the effort to crush the strikers and compel them to resume work, the arrest and imprisonment of the principal leaders and of hundreds—nay thousands—of the rank and file, the enormous Indian mass meetings held in Durban, Johannesburg, and other parts of the Union, the fierce and passionate indignation aroused in India, the large sums of money poured into South Africa from all parts of the Motherland, Lord Hardinge's famous speech at Madras, in which he placed himself at the head of Indian public opinion and his demand for a Commission of Inquiry, the energetic efforts of Lord Ampthill's Committee, the hurried intervention of the Imperial authorities, the appointment over the heads of the Indian community of a Commission whose *personnel* could not satisfy the Indians, the discharge from prison of the leaders whose advice to ignore the Commission was almost universally accepted, the arrival of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson and their wonderful work of reconciliation, the deaths of Harbatsingh and Valiamma, the strained position relieved only by the interruption of the second European strike, when Mr. Gandhi, as on an earlier occasion, undertook not to hamper the Government whilst they had their hands full with the fresh difficulty, and when it had been dealt with, the entirely new spirit of friendliness, trust, and co-operation that was found to have been created by the moderation of the great Indian leader and the loving influence spread around him by Mr. Andrews as he proceeded with his great Imperial mission.

All these things are of recent history, as are the favourable recommendations of the Commission on practically every point referred to it and out of which Passive Resistance had arisen, the adoption of the Commission's Report in its entirety by the Government, the introduction and passing into law of the Indians Relief Act, after lengthy and remarkable debates in both Houses of the Legislature, the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi

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MR. H. S. L. POLAK

and General Smuts, in which the latter undertook, on behalf of the Government, to carry through the administrative reforms that were not covered by the new Act, and the final letter of the Indian protagonist of Passive Resistance, formally announcing the conclusion of the struggle and setting forth the points upon which Indians would sooner or later have to be satisfied before they could acquire complete equality of civil status—and the scenes of his departure for his beloved Motherland, enacted throughout the country, wherein the deaths and sufferings of the Indian martyrs, Nagappan, Narayanasamy, Harbatsing and Valiamma, were justified and sanctified to the world.

Faithful to his instinct for service, Mr. Gandhi hurried to England, where he heard that Mr. Gokhale was critically ill, and arrived, on the outbreak of the Great War, to find that his friend was slowly recovering from the almost fatal attack that had overwhelmed him. Here, too, his sense of responsibility revealed itself. He recognised that it was India's duty, in the hour of the Empire's trial, to do all in her power to help, and he at once set about the formation of the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps in London, enrolling himself and his devoted wife, who had herself been barely snatched from the jaws of death but a few weeks earlier, amongst the members. But the years of strain, his neglect of his own physical well-being, and his addiction to long fasts as a means to spiritual purification, had undermined a never very robust constitution, and his condition became so serious that private and official friends insisted upon his proceeding immediately, with Mrs. Gandhi, to India. Since his arrival in his Motherland, at the beginning of 1915, his movements have been much in the popular eye. His progress through India, from the day of the public landing and welcome at the Apollo Bunder, was in the nature of a veritable triumph, marred only by the sudden death of his beloved teacher, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who had sacrificed health and life itself upon the altar of his country's welfare.

The Government of India marked their appreciation of Mr. Gandhi's unique services by recommending him for the Kaisar-i-Hind Gold Medal, which was conferred upon him by the King-Emperor amongst the 1915 New Year's Honours. To Mr. Gokhale he had given a promise to make no public utterance on Indian affairs until at least a year had passed, and he had visited the principal centres of public life in India. This promise, which was faithfully kept, was exacted, because Mr. Gokhale, hoping to see in him his own successor, had been somewhat disturbed by the very advanced views expressed by Mr. Gandhi in the proscribed pamphlet, *Hind Swaraj*, whose pages, we now know, were written to show the basic similarity of civilisation the world over, the superiority for India of the particular Indian phase of that civilisation, and the stupidity of the barriers of luxury erected by the modern industrial civilisation of the West, that constantly separate man from man, and make him a senseless machine-drudge, and that threaten to invade that holy Motherland that stands in his eyes for the victory of spirit over matter. He had condemned some things of which he had disapproved, in Mr. Gokhale's opinion, somewhat hastily, and the older man had thought that, after an absence from India of so many years, during which he had perhaps idealised certain phases of Indian life, a year's travel and observation would be a useful corrective. Which of the two, if either, has correctly diagnosed the situation, Time alone can show.

Mr. Gandhi, however, made his headquarters at Ahmedabad, the capital of his own Province of Gujarat, and here he founded his *Satyagrahashram*, where he is endeavouring to train up from childhood public servants upon a basis of austerity of life and personal subordination to the common good, the members supporting themselves by work at the hand-loom or other manual labour.

The recent unfortunate incident at Benares, of which far too much has been made, revealed the hold that he possesses upon the esteem and affection of his countrymen, for his version of what transpired was generally accepted. And now that he is free to speak, he may be expected to

take a prominent part in the building-up of the Indian nation along his own peculiar lines. For, he will teach both by precept and by example. But he will go his own way, untrammelled by precedent, carefully analysing the criticism to which he is bound to be subjected, holding himself answerable, however, to his own conscience alone. For he is of the prophets, and not merely of the secondary interpreters of life.

If there is one characteristic more than another that stamps Mr. Gandhi as a man amongst men, it is his extraordinary love of truth. His search for it is the one passion of his life, and every action of his indicates the devotee of this usually distant shrine. Whatever he says, even those most hostile to him unhesitatingly believe, as being the truth so far as he is aware of it, and he will not hesitate to retract, publicly and immediately, anything that he may have unwittingly declared to be a fact, but which he afterwards finds to be unwarranted. His political opponents admit unquestioningly that every action of his is prompted only by the most conscientious and impersonal motives. In his legal practice, which he has now definitely abjured as an "unclean thing," he was highly regarded by his fellow-practitioners as an able lawyer and an honourable colleague or opponent, and Magistrates and Judges alike paid careful attention to any case that Mr. Gandhi advocated, realising that it had intrinsic merits or that he sincerely believed that it had. He has been known to retire from a case in open Court, and in the middle of the hearing, having realised that his client had deceived him, and he never accepted a case except on the express understanding that he reserved to himself the right to withdraw at any stage if he felt that his client had not dealt honestly with him.

His self-suppression and courtesy are universally recognised and appreciated. He has scarcely ever been known to give angry expression to his feelings, and then only when moved by a sense of righteous indignation. He has never, during the whole course of his public career, condescended to the use of the average politician's dictionary of invective, and his courtesy and urbanity

towards opponents arises from his desire and ability to place himself in their position before attacking it. It was this characteristic, more than anything else, that drew from the *Natal Mercury*, the principal newspaper in the Colony, the following protest on the occasion of Mr. Gandhi's being marched along the public thoroughfares of Pretoria, manacled like a common thief or a runaway slave :—

> We may express what we believe to be the general regret of the Natal public that certain Transvaal officials should have thought it necessary the other day to subject Mr. Gandhi to the indignity of handcuffing while being walked through the streets to give evidence. Mr. Gandhi is at least a political prisoner, and as such deserves better treatment than that measured out to debased criminals. A regulation that subjects any man, no matter what the charge against him, to such treatment is monstrous.

His generosity is proverbial. He never issued a formal demand for payment of a debt due to him, conceiving that his debtor, if an honest man, would pay when he could, and if a dishonest man, would not be made the more honest by the use of legal compulsion. Indeed, in his every action, he vindicates his hostility to the doctrine of force and his abiding affection for that of love as a rule of life. When he was nearly done to death by a fanatical Pathan, in 1908, he absolutely refused to charge his assailant or to give evidence against him. He preferred to conquer him by love, and succeeded; for early the following year the Pathan, who had been deported to India because he sturdily refused to comply with the Transvaal Law, addressed a letter to Mr. Gandhi in which he assured the latter that all his sympathies were with him, and he would do what he could to help the cause.

Mr. Gandhi's sense of public duty is profound. Just before his first arrest, he received the news that his youngest child was desperately ill and he was asked to go to Phœnix at once if he wished to see him. He refused, saying that his greater duty lay in Johannesburg, where the community had need of him, and his child's life or death must be left in God's hands. Similarly, during his second imprisonment, he received telegraphic news of Mrs. Gandhi's serious illness, and was urged, even by the

visiting Magistrate, to pay his fine and so become free to nurse her. Again he refused, declining to be bound by private ties when such action would probably result in weakening the community of which he was the stay and the inspiration. And although, after his release and his subsequent re-arrest, he could have secured indefinite postponement of the hearing of his case, so that he might nurse Mrs. Gandhi back to health after a serious operation, as soon as he heard that the Transvaal Government were anxious to see him back again in gaol, he hastened to the Transvaal from Natal, leaving Mrs. Gandhi, for aught he knew to the contrary, on her deathbed. His eldest son was in gaol as a passive resister for many months, and he subsequently took his second and third sons to join the struggle, in order that they, too, might grow through the hard discipline of prison-life. Yet he is a devoted husband and father, and is intensely attached to children. Indeed, he is never happier than when with little children. His sense of duty was never more strikingly demonstrated than when he set out, on that fateful morning in February, 1908, to fulfil his pledge to the Transvaal Government that he would undertake voluntary registration. He knew that, owing to a misunderstanding, which even his lucidity and persuasiveness could not overcome, a small section of the community had been rendered bitterly hostile to him, and that his future assailant was at that moment in his office and awaiting an opportunity for a physical attack, which could only be effected in the open street. Mr. Gandhi had no thought of seeking police protection against a compatriot, but walked straight to the Registration Office, and on the way the expected attack was delivered. Bleeding from open wounds and in the greatest pain, he was taken to the Rev. J. J. Doke's house, but before he would permit the doctor to stitch up his face, which was badly gashed, he insisted upon completing the form of application for voluntary registration in the presence of the Registrar of Asiatics, giving full details as to identity, like the least of his followers—Mr. Gandhi has always steadfastly refused, either within or outside of prison, to avail himself of any privilege that is not accorded to the humblest of his countrymen—and then

permitted his wounds to be sewn up without availing himself of an anæsthetic. That same day, though tossing feverishly upon a sick-bed, he issued the following manifesto to the Indian community, which had for the moment been taken aback by the suddenness of the assault and by a series of foolish errors on the part of the registration officials :—

Those who have committed the act did not know what they were doing. They thought that I was doing what was wrong. They have had their redress in the only manner they know. I, therefore, request that no steps be taken against them.

Seeing that the assault was committed by a Mahomedan or Mahomedans, the Hindus might probably feel hurt. If so, they would put themselves in the wrong before the world and their Maker. Rather let the blood spilt to day cement the two communities indissolubly—such is my heartfelt prayer. May God grant it! .... The spirit of passive resistance rightly understood should make the people fear none and nothing but God—no cowardly fear, therefore, should deter the vast majority of sober-minded Indians from doing their duty. The promise of repeal of the Act, against voluntary registration, having been given, it is the sacred duty of every true Indian to help the Government and the Colony to the uttermost.

To assume responsibilities, to recognise obligations, was always Mr. Gandhi's main thought, in his relations with the European colonists of South Africa; for he knew that the completest rights cannot be availed of by undeveloped and irresponsible people. Hence his offers, on behalf of the community, of ambulance and stretcher-bearer corps, his desire to afford the Government and Municipal authorities the utmost help at all times in the proper conduct of public affairs and the governance and uplifting of the Indian community. He always felt that the only possible road to progress was by compelling the European colonists to recognize the real worth and sterlingness of character of his compatriots and a deep-seated desire to secure mutual respect was at the bottom of his action in advising his fellow-countrymen to continue the struggle for the preservation of their manhood.

Perhaps, Mr. Gandhi's greatest regret during all the terrible years of the struggle in South Africa, was that so much of the communal energy was used up in destructive

criticism instead of in constructive social work, and he only became reconciled to the situation by realising that destructive criticism was essential to the communal progress and that the struggle itself had built up character as, probably, no deliberately undertaken constructive work could have done. But even whilst he was in goal, he was not forgetful of his duty to his compatriots and the general public; for, by permission of authorities, he addressed the following communication, giving his own personal views on the question, to the Liquor Commission appointed by the Transvaal Government :—

Both Mahomedans and Hindus are prohibited by their respective religions from taking intoxicating liquors. The Mahomedan section has very largely conformed to the prohibition. The Hindu section, I am sorry to say, contains an appreciable number who, in this Colony, have disregarded the prohibition of religion.

The method adopted by Indians who indulge in alcoholic drinks is generally to secure the assistance of some unscrupulous whites. There are also other methods, which I do not care to go into.

I am of opinion that the legal prohibition should continue. I think, however, that the prohibition has not succeeded in preventing Indians, who have wanted it, from obtaining liquor. The only use I see in continuing the prohibition is to let those of my countrymen, who indulge in it, retain the sense of shame they have in drinking liquor. They know that it is wrong for them, both in religion and in law, to obtain and drink liquor. This enables temperance workers to appeal to their law-abiding sentiment. I draw a fundamental distinction between wrongful law-breaking and a conscientious breach of man-made law in obedience to a higher law. Happily, those Indians who break the liquor law know that it is wrong for them to do so.

I am aware that some of my countrymen—themselves ardent temperance men—see in the liquor legislation one more disqualification based on the ground of colour. Superficially speaking, they would be right, but I believe that this legislation has little to do with colour. It is, in my opinion, a recognition on the part of the predominant race that the drink habit is an evil which, while they themselves are unable to get rid of they do not want other races to contract. Viewing the position in this manner, I believe liquor prohibition among the Asiatic and coloured races to be the forerunner of general prohibition.

Whether, however, general prohibition becomes an accomplished fact or not, so long as the predominant race continue to indulge in alcoholic drinks, be it never so moderately, partial

prohibition, such as we now have, cannot be of much practical use. This, it is submitted, is a forcible illustration of one of the evil incidents of contact between the European and other races. And unless those who preach abstinence are themselves ready to practise it, all liquor legislation must largely be a makeshift. I wish the Commission could see their way to point out to the electors of the Transvaal what a serious responsibility rests upon their shoulders. They make it impossible for their representatives to pass legislation that is so desirable. It is they who must take the responsibility for the breaking up of many a home. I am writing under a full sense of my own responsibility. I know only too well how many Indian youths, who never knew the taste of spirituous liquors, have succumbed, after having come to South Africa or the Transvaal.

We have here an example of how Mr. Gandhi will not hesitate, when necessary, to set himself against the opinion of many of his countrymen or boldly to declare whose is the responsibility for any recognised evil. Indeed, his general attitude may be briefly summed up in the following statements he once made to the writer: "Most religious men I have met are politicians in disguise; I, however, who wear the guise of a politician, am at heart a religious man."

So far as the Indian community itself was concerned, Mr. Gandhi had appointed for himself one supreme task—to bring Hindus and Mahomedans together and to make them realise that they were of one brotherhood and sons of the same Motherland. The result is that to-day the Hindu-Mahomedan problem in South Africa is far less acute than it is in India. Indians of both these great faiths act and work and have suffered together. Now and again, of course, individual sectarians try to sow religious discord, but the better sense of the community is against such attempts, and that is why Hindus and Mahomedans alike were to be found amongst his most devoted followers. His attitude as a Hindu towards Mahomedans is well defined in the following letter addressed by him to a Mahomedan correspondent:—

I never realise any distinction between a Hindu and a Mahomedan. To my mind, both are sons of Mother India. I know that Hindus are in a numerical majority and that they are believed to be more advanced in knowledge and education. Accordingly, they should be glad to give way so much the more to their Mahomedan brethren. As a man of truth, I honestly believe that Hindus should

yield up to the Mahomedans what the latter desire, and that they should rejoice in so doing. We can expect unity only if such mutual large-heartedness is displayed. When the Hindus and Mahomedans act towards each other as blood-brothers, then alone can there be unity then only can we hope for the dawn of India.

And as has already been seen, Mr. Gandhi is prepared to shed his blood in order that the bonds of Hindu-Mahomedan brotherhood might be the more firmly cemented.

His chivalry is at once the admiration of his friends and followers and the confusion of his enemies. A telling example of this was given when, in October 1908, together with a number of compatriots, he was arrested and charged at Volksrust, the Transvaal border town. Mr. Gandhi then gave the following evidence on behalf of his fellow-countrymen, whom he was defending, and though he was not called upon to make these admissions:—

He took the sole responsibility for having advised them to enter the Colony. They had largely been influenced by his advice, though no doubt they had used their own judgment. He thought that, in giving that advice, he had consulted the best interests of the State. He asked the accused to enter at a public meeting and individually. They probably, at that time, had no idea of entering the Colony, except, perhaps, one of them. He would certainly admit that he had assisted the accused to enter. He admitted aiding and abetting them to enter the Transvaal. He was quite prepared to suffer the consequences of his action, as he always had been.

Later, when giving evidence on his own behalf, he said:—

In connection with my refusal to produce my registration certificate and to give thumb-impressions or finger-impressions, I think that as an officer of this Court, I owe an explanation. There have been differences between the Government and British Indians, whom I represent as Secretary of the British Indian Association, over the Asiatic Act, No. 2 of 1907, and after due deliberation, I took upon myself the responsibility of advising my countrymen not to submit to the primary obligation imposed by the Act, but still, as law-abiding subjects of the State, to accept its sanctions. Rightly or wrongly, in common with other Asiatics, I consider that the Act in question, among other things, offends our conscience, and the only way, I thought, as I still think, the Asiatics could show their feeling with regard to it was to incur its penalties. And in pursuance of that policy, I admit that I have advised the accused who have preceded me to refuse submission to the Act, as also the Act 36 of 1908, seeing that, in the opinion of British Indians,

full relief, that was promised by the Government, has not been granted. I am now before the Court to suffer the penalties that may be awarded me.

And when he was next sentenced, Mr. Gandhi made the following declaration :—

> It is my misfortune that I have to appear before the Court for the same offence the second time. I am quite aware that my offence is deliberate and wilful. I have honestly desired to examine my conduct in the light of past experience, and I maintain the conclusion that, no matter what my countrymen do or think, as a citizen of the State and as a man who respects conscience above everything, I must continue to incur the penalties so long as justice, as I conceive it, has not been rendered by the State to a portion of its citizens. I consider myself the greatest offender in the Asiatic struggle, if the conduct that I am pursuing is held to be reprehensible. I, therefore, regret that I am being tried under a clause which does not enable me to ask for a penalty which some of my fellow-objectors received, but I ask you to impose on me the highest penalty.

Thus, Mr. Gandhi indicated his willingness to become a passive resister even against his own countrymen, if need be, and his anxiety, like the Greek hero who rushed into the fray and found death by gathering into his own breast the spears of the enemy, to bring salvation to his people by accepting the fullest responsibility and the heaviest penalties. Even whilst in gaol, he was a passive resister; for he declined to eat the special food provided for him until his Indian fellow-prisoners were given a more suitable diet, and he deliberately starved himself upon one wretched meal a day for six weeks, until the authorities were obliged to promise a modified diet-scale for Indian prisoners, a promise which they later fulfilled—for the worse.

Mr. Gandhi put his thought on the meaning of passive resistance concisely and in a direct form, when he addressed the following exhortation to the Transvaal Tamil community :—

> Remember that we are descendants of Prahlad and Sudhanva, both passive resisters of the purest type. They disregarded the dictates even of their parents, when they were asked to deny God. They suffered extreme torture rather than inflict suffering on their persecutors. We in the Transvaal are being called upon to deny God, in that we are required to deny our manhood, go back upon our oath, and accept an insult to our nation. Shall we, in the present crisis, do less than our forefathers?

His simplicity is extreme. He is a devoted follower of Tolstoy and Ruskin in their appeal for a simpler life, and himself lives the life of an ascetic, eating the simplest fruits of the earth, sleeping often on a piece of sacking on the bare earth in the open air, and he cares nothing for personal appearance. He has reduced himself to a condition of voluntary poverty, and he has entirely abandoned the practice of law believing that he cannot consistently obtain his livelihood from a profession that derives its sanctions from physical force. He acknowledges no binding ties of kin or custom, but only of the obligation of his own conscience. Ram Krishna tested his freedom from caste-prejudice by sweeping out a pariah's hut with his own hair. Mohandas Gandhi has tested his by tending the wounds of a Bantu savage with his own hands. With him the spirit of religion is everything, the world and its opinion nothing. He does not know how to distinguish Hindu from Mahomedan, Christian from infidel. To him all alike are brothers, fragments of the Divine, fellow-spirits struggling for expression. All he has he gives. With him, self-surrender and absolute sacrifice are demands of his very nature. His deep spirituality influences all around, so that no man dares to commit evil in his presence. He lives in the happiness of his friends, but he does not hesitate to create a condition of spiritual unrest in them when he conceives it his duty to point out the right and condemn the wrong. He cannot condone falsehood, but he reproves and rebukes lovingly. Indeed, love is his only weapon against evil. He sees God in every living thing, and therefore loves all mankind and the whole animal world. He is strictly vegetarian, not because of orthodoxy, but because he cannot cause the death of any creature and because he believes that life is of God. In faith he is probably nearer in touch with pure Jainism or Buddhism than any other creed, though no formal creed can really hold him. To him all is God, and from that reality he deduces his whole line of conduct. Perhaps, in this generation, India has not produced such a noble man—saint, patriot, statesman in one. He lives for God and for India. His one desire is to see unity amongst his fellow-countrymen. His every endeavour in South

Africa was directed to showing the possibility of Indian national unity and the lines upon which the national edifice should be constructed. His winning manners, pleasant smile, and refreshing candour and originality of thought and action mark him out as a leader of men. But those who know him best recognise in him the religious teacher, the indicator of God, the inspiring example of "a pure, holy soul," as he has been called by the Rev. F. B. Meyer, the modesty, humility and utter self-abnegation of whose life provide a lesson for all who have eyes to see, ears to hear, and an understanding spirit.

How he starved and fasted and sought to purify his physical nature, is to tell the story of a man to whom self-suffering is a daily joy and delight. And he did not subdue his body at the cost of his spirituality, as is the habit of so many self-tormentors, but his soul grew in exaltation as he felt himself free to express his higher nature and to devote greater energy to the service of his countrymen. He has been a true Bhakta, a devotee of the most earnest and humble type. Praise has always been painful and distasteful to him, though he has been lavish of it as regards his fellow-workers.

Every action of his life has been performed in the service of that Divine Essence that has so profoundly permeated his own being—from the grinding of wheat in his own home to the planting of fruit-trees, the teaching of little children and the serving of his countrymen at the Kumbha Mela, at Hardwar.

It is the majestic personality of the man, Mohandas Gandhi, that overshadows his comparatively insignificant physique. One feels oneself in the presence of a moral giant, whose pellucid soul is a clear still lake, in which one sees Truth clearly mirrored. His is the meekness that has turned away wrath a thousand times, and that has disarmed opponents even when most hostile. Unarmed for war, he yet has conquered peace, for his weapons have been the age-old arms of moral fervour, calm determination, spiritual exaltation, sacrifice of the lower self, service of his fellowmen, lowliness, steadfastness, and an overwhelming love bestowed equally upon every living thing.

A movement with such a man at its heart could not but succeed, and so the Passive Resistance struggle came to an end and freed its greatest exponent for still greater service on a wider stage. Meanwhile, he has fixed the lines of growth of his countrymen in South Africa, indicated the path and means of patriotic development for his countrymen in the Motherland, rallied the best of European sentiment to the South African Indian cause, developed the possibilities of Passive Resistance, and added yet one more name to the Golden Scroll of those who have deserved well of their country and of mankind.

Yet this is not the whole man. You cannot say this is he, that is he. All that you can say with certainty is that he is here, he is there. Everywhere his influence reigns, his authority rules, his elusive personality pervades; and this must be so, for it is true of all great men that they are incalculable, beyond definition. They partake of the nature of the Illimitable and the eternal from which they have sprung and to which they are bound. With their feet firm-set on earth and their hands amongst the stars, they are pointers of the way to those who search, encouragers of the faint and weary, inspirers of those breathing in deep draughts of hope.—*Sketch in Messrs. Natesan's "Biographies of Eminent Indians" Series.*

The power our fellow-countrymen have shown in standing firm for their cause under severest trials, fighting unarmed against fearful odds, has given us a firmer faith in the strength of the God that can defy sufferings and defeats at the hands of physical supremacy, that can make its gains of its losses [*Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Letter to Mr. Gandhi.*]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN STRUGGLE.

MR. H. S. L. POLAK.

To survey, within a limited space, the origins and incidents of a movement that has occupied eight years of the history of South African Indians is a task impossible of satisfactory fulfilment. The present sketch will, therefore, be but a hasty outline, with here and there an indicator emphasising a noteworty occurrence or a fundamental out line.

The origins of the Passive Resistance Struggle are to be sought, not in the agitation of 1906, but in that which commenced, in one of its phases, in the Transvaal, in 1885, and, in another, in Natal, in 1894. The old Republican Law 3 of 1885, whilst imposing various burdens upon Asiatics residing in the country, required that such of them as entered for purposes of trade should be registered at a fixed fee, and that, "for sanitary purposes," they should reside in locations specially set apart for them. To a large extent, both requirements proved a dead letter, but a great deal of friction with the British Government was engendered, resulting in Imperial intervention at the time of the War, when resident Indians, as British subjects, were promised complete redress of their grievances.

In Natal, a British Colony, the position had been complicated by the grave prejudice aroused by the presence of large numbers of Indian labourers brought at the instance of the European Colonists under indenture, and an agitation had arisen for the exclusion of free Asiatic immigration and the disfranchisement of all Asiatics. It became a question whether this was to be accomplished by specifically racial legislation or by general enactment differentially administered. The conflict of views represented by these two methods raged for sometime, but at last, thanks to the statesmanship of Mr.

Chamberlain, in 1897, the second method was adopted, and the famous "Natal Act" passed, imposing an educational and not a racial test. From then onwards, in Natal, racial legislation was a thing of the past, and hence the first signs of renewed trouble arose in the Transvaal, where the principle of statutory equality had not been accepted, owing to a different political conception of the status of coloured people.

In the re-settlement that took place after the War, it was hoped that the burdens would be removed from the shoulders of the British Indian community but Indians were dismayed to find the Imperial authorities endeavouring vigorously to enforce the obnoxious legislation against which they had strongly protested in pre-war days, a policy that was later weakly defended by Lord Selborne. Immigration of Indians was severely restricted by the Peace Preservation Ordinance. Re-registration of practically all adult male Indians, under Law 3 of 1885, was urged by Lord Milner, and was subsequently agreed to by the Indian leaders as a purely voluntary act, on Lord Milner's definite promise that this registration would be regarded as complete and final and that the certificates issued would constitute a permanent right of residence to the holders and a right to come and go at will.

Meanwhile, Law 3 of 1885 was being enforced so as to compel all Indians to reside and trade in locations, and the pre-war controversy was revived, resulting in an appeal to the Supreme Court, which reversed the old Republican High Court's decision, and held that Indians were free to trade anywhere they pleased, and that non-residence in a location was not punishable at law. This decision was a severe rebuff to the anti-Indian element in the European population that had its representatives even in the Government, which endeavoured to legislate to overcome the effect of the Supreme Court decision—without result, however, owing to the intervention of the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, the late Mr. Lyttelton. But the general public, by ingeniously manipulated statistics, were led to believe in a huge influx of unauthorised Asiatics into the Transvaal, to which some

colour was let by the dispersal of the Indian residents of the Johannesburg Indian location throughout the Colony, after it was burnt down at the time of the plague outbreak in 1904, and meetings all over the Transvaal were held with the object of closing the door against all Asiatic immigration, and compelling Indians to trade and reside exclusively in locations. In an atmosphere of prejudice and terror thus created, it was possible effectively to pretest one's innocence, and the request of the Indian community for an open and impartial inquiry, whether by Royal Commission or otherwise, fell on deaf ears; so that when a draft ordinance was published, in 1906, to "amend" Law 3 of 1885, requiring compulsory re-registration of the entire Indian community, men, women, and children, it was vociferously welcomed by the whole European population, whilst it fell amongst the Indian victims to be like a bomb-shell. The basic assumption, on the part of the authorities, for its necessity lay in the unquenchable belief in wholesale Indian immigration of an unlawful character, to which, in their opinion, resident Indians could not but be a party. So far as the general public was concerned, the measure was hailed as the first instalment of a scheme designed to drive Indians out of the Colony altogether, and Europeans in the neighbouring Colonies and territories eagerly looked on, as they had looked on, in 1903, at Lord Milner's abortive effort to compel Indian trade and residence in locations, so that they might take advantage of the results of the new policy to relieve themselves to their own Asiatic "incubus."

Appalled by the magnitude of the disaster that threatened the community, the Indian leaders hastened to take steps to avoid it, if possible. They sought an interview with the responsible member of the Government, but succeeded only in getting women excluded from the operation of the measure, and, as a lost resort, an Indian mass meeting was held at the moment that the Legislative Council was debating the clauses of the draft ordinance. Whilst the Council's debate was a perfunctory and prearranged performance, the whole business being concluded

in less than a couple of hours, the crowded Empire Theatre rang with impassioned denunciations of the Government's policy, which belied the solemn undertaking of Lord Milner in every important respect, assumed the guilt of the Indian community unheard and without proof, and adumbrated their virtual expulsion from the Colony, and, eventually, from South Africa. So fierce was the indignation aroused that, when the famous Fourth Resolution was put, committing all present, and those they represented, to go to gaol, if the measure should become law, until such time as it should be repealed or disallowed, the whole vast audience of three thousand persons rose as one man, and shouted a solemn "Amen," when the oath of Passive Resistance was administered. Simultaneously, however, and as a last effort to avoid a terrible conflict, a deputation to England was arranged for. The delegates proceeded there to interview the Imperial authorities and arouse public opinion, and their efforts resulted in the suspension of the Royal Assent to the measure owing to the imminence of the inauguration of self-government in the Transvaal, and in the formation of the famous South Africa British Indian Committee, with Sir Mancherji Bhownaggree as its executive chairman, Mr. L. W. Ritch as its secretary, and, subsequently, Lord Ampthill as its president.

The disallowance of the measure was, however, merely a temporary respite, for, taking umbrage at what was thought to be an impertinent intrusion on the part of the Imperial Government in the affairs of a practically self-governing British Colony, the European section of the population angrily demanded the immediate re-enactment of the ordinance, and almost the first action of the new Parliament was to rush it through all its stages in a single session of a unanimous House, entirely ignoring Indian opinion and Indian protests, for, as Indians were not directly represented in Parliament, nobody appeared to consider it necessary to take their feelings into consideration.

Still anxious to avoid a struggle that had appeared to be inevitable, the Indian leaders had urged the Government

and Parliament not to proceed with the Bill, but to accept a voluntary effort of re-registration in a manner that might be mutually agreed upon, in which they proffered all possible assistance. But they were distrusted and ignored, and all the tragic possibilities of a prolonged conflict were forced upon the Indian community. In July, 1907, the new Act came into force, and registration under it officially commenced, in compartments, the registration officers travelling from town to town throughout the Colony. Their efforts to induce registration were wholly unsuccessful, and an extension of the advertised time for registration was given by the Government, as a last opportunity to comply with the law. But 95 per cent. of the Indian community remained true to its oath. Meanwhile, a further effort had been made to avoid an extension of the trouble, and a petition, signed by some 3,000 Indians, had been addressed to the Government, imploring them to realise the depth of suffering into which it was threatened to plunge the Indian community, who once more offered voluntary re-registration if the Act was suspended. The petition was rejected contemptuously, and, at the end of the year, several of the leaders were arrested, ordered to leave the Colony, and, upon their refusal to do so, imprisoned for various periods. This process was repeated, until some hundreds of all classes were lodged in gaol, and the Government, realising that their efforts to crush the community had failed, opened up negotiations through the agency of Mr. Albert Cartwright, then Editor of the *Transvaal Leader*, with the result that, almost at the moment that H. H. the Aga Khan was presiding over a huge public meeting of protest in Bombay, compromise was signed, whereby it was agreed to suspend passive resistance, to proceed with voluntary re-registration for a period of three months, during which the operation of the law was to be suspended, and, as the Indian signatories clearly understood, to repeal the hated Act if the re-registration was satisfactorily completed. In the meantime, the situation had been complicated by the passing of an Immigration Act that, operating jointly with the Asiatic Law Amendment Act, absolutely prohibited all Asiatic immigration, no matter how cultured the

immigrant might be. Thus, at a stroke, the policy of non-racial legislation, that had been so strongly advocated by Mr. Chamberlain, was destroyed. The community, however, realised that, with the repeal of the Asiatic Act, the racial taint would disappear and all efforts were, accordingly, concentrated upon that. The commencement of voluntary re-registration was signalised by a murderous attack upon Mr. Gandhi by a misguided countryman, and, for the moment, everything was in confusion. But a special appeal to the community was made, and, with confidence restored and the promise of repeal, re-registration was duly completed by the middle of May, and Lord Selborne himself bore testimony to its satisfactoriness. Then the Government were called upon to perform their part of the compromise, but the promise of repeal was repudiated, and immediately the Indian community was thrown into a turmoil. The Government offered to repeal the Act provided that certain classes of Indians were treated as prohibited immigrants, and the racial bar remained in the immigration Law. Naturally, these terms were indignantly rejected, and the community prepared for a revival of Passive Resistance. Mr. Sorabji Shapurji, an educated Parsee from Natal, was imprisoned as a protest against the racial bar. The Natal Indian leaders entered the Transvaal, in order to co-operate with their brethren there, and were arrested as prohibited immigrants and ordered to leave the Colony. But at a mass meeting held in Johannesburg, at which they were present, hundreds of certificates of voluntary registration were publicly burnt, and a challenge of wholesale imprisonment was thrown out to the Government, who took alarm at the situation, and a Conference of leading members of the Government and Opposition, and of representatives of the Indian and Chinese communities, together with Mr. Albert Cartwright, as mediator, was held at Pretoria. The Conference proved abortive, however, for, though they were prepared to waive the other points upon which they had previously insisted, the Government proved adamant on the two main issues. They definitely refused either to repeal the Asiatic Act or to remove the racial bar of the immigration Law.

An amending Bill was passed through both Houses of Parliament, validating voluntary registration, and improving the Indian position in certain respects, but it being, in the main, unsatisfactory for the reasons given above, it was not recognised by the Passive Resisters, who resumed the struggle with energy. The new measure, however, strengthened the hands of the Government by giving them powers of deportation, which, however, were at first neutralised by their deporting Passive Resisters across the Natal border, whence they returned as fast as they were deported.

Into the many details and ramifications of the struggle at this stage it is unnecessary now to enter; suffice it to recall the Delagoa Bay incidents, when the Portuguese Government acted as the catspaw of the Transvaal, in preventing the entry into the Transvaal of returning Indians lawfully resident there, the various test-cases brought in the Supreme Court against the Government, some of which were lost and some won, the voluntary insolvency of Mr. A. M. Cachalia, the Chairman of the British Indian Association, who preferred to keep his oath and preserve his honour to the sordid joy of money-making, the imprisonment of Indians of all classes by hundreds, the appeals to India, where protest meetings were held in different parts of the country, the financial help of Natal, the arousing of enthusiasm amongst Indians all over the country, the activity of Lord Ampthill's Committee in London, and of the British Press, the bitter controversies that raged in the Transvaal papers, the latent sympathy of not a few Transvaal Europeans culminating in the formation of Mr. Hosken's Committee, that rendered such splendid and patriotic service in a number of ways, the public letter to the *Times*, the refusal of the royal assent to anti-Indian measures passed by the Legislatures of Natal and Southern Rhodesia, the Indian mass meetings in Johannesburg and all over South Africa, the weakening of some sections of the Indian community and the strengthening of others, the amazing revelation of Tamil strength and fortitude, the energetic labours of the Indian women, the ruin and desolation of business and homes, the cruel

jail hardships whose purpose was to crush the spirit of the passive resisters, the magnificent courage of those who sought imprisonment again and again, the glorious religious spirit that was developed as the struggle moved on from phase to phase, to hopes and fears, the firm faith of the leaders in ultimate success—all these constitute a pageant of incidents and emotions that gave greatness to the passive resistance movement, and that bestowed upon it its most distinguishing characteristics.

New life was given to the movement in the middle of 1909, when two deputations were authorised to proceed to England and India respectively, to cultivate public opinion there and to seek assistance. As the delegates were on the point of leaving, the majority of them were arrested and imprisoned as passive resisters, doubtless with the intention of preventing the departure of the remainder. But the community insisted that the deputations should go. In England, interest in the question was strongly revived, and, as Transvaal Ministers were there at the time in connection with the Draft Act of Union, the Imperial authorities strove to effect a settlement; but General Smuts proved obdurate, and flatly declined to remove the statutory racial bar and substitute for it general legislation, though it was clear that the Asiatic Act was doomed. The deputation, which had been led by Mr. Gandhi, therefore returned to South Africa, having accomplished only a part of what it had hoped to achieve, but having arranged for a body of volunteers who undertook to collect funds and keep the subject before the public.

The deputation to India, heralded by the tragic death of Nagappan shortly after his release from prison, was of a different character. Mr. Polak, who was the sole remaining delegate, placed himself unreservedly in the hands of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, whose Servants of India Society arranged for meetings to be held in every part of the country, from Bombay to Rangoon, from Madras to Lahore. Tremendous enthusiasm was aroused, Indian patriotic pride in the sufferers in South Africa was awakened, and funds were energetically collected, following the example of Mr. Ratan J. Tata, some £ 10,000 being

contributed for the maintenance of the struggle, ruling princes, sending generous subscriptions. All sections of the people united in demanding the intervention of the Imperial Government, and at the historic session of the Imperial Council at Calcutta, the Government of India announced its acceptance of Mr. Gokhale's resolution, unanimously supported, to take powers to prohibit the further recruitment of indentured labour in India for Natal. After a thirteen months' campaign, India had been educated on the South African Indian question to a degree that aroused the attention and anxiety of the Home authorities, and when angry protests came from every part of the country against the Transvaal Government's action in deporting to India large numbers of passive resisters (many of them born in South Africa), with the object of breaking up the movement, the Imperial Government, upon the urgent representations of the Government of India, successfully implored the Transvaal--and subsequently, the Union--Administration to cease to deport. The deportees subsequently returned to South Africa, but with the loss of Narayansamy, who died at Delagoa Bay after having been unlawfully denied a landing anywhere in British territory.

Meanwhile, the four South African Colonies had become Provinces of the Union of South Africa, and the Imperial Government, convinced at last of the justice of the Indian cause, and taking advantage of the possibilities of the new situation, addressed to the Union Government the memorable despatch of October 7, 1910, in which they powerfully recommended the repeal of Act 2 of 1907, the removal of the racial bar, and the substitution for the latter of the Indian suggestion of non-racial legislation modified by administrative differentiation, effectively limiting future Indian immigration to a minimum number annually of highly educated men, whose services would be required for the higher needs of the Indian community. To this despatch was appended the condition that nothing that was done to settle the Transvaal controversy at the expense of the Indians residing in the Coast Provinces would be satisfactory to the Imperial Government. The

Union Ministers responded in a friendly manner, the struggle became less acute, and ultimately, in 1911, a Union Immigration Bill was published, purporting to settle the controversy that had been raging for so long. The new measure, however, obviously did not serve its purpose, for, whilst repealing the Asiatic Act of 1907, saving the rights of minors that had been declared by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, in the Chotabhai case, the Bill did not remove the racial bar, but rather extended it throughout the Union, by reason of the Orange Free State entry question, and it took away other rigths not only from Transvaal Indians, but from those resident in the Coast Provinces. An unanimous outcry arose from them, negotiations were re-opened, and the suggestion was thrown out by the passive resistance leaders that the Bill should be replaced by one limited to the Transvaal alone, which, however, was not adopted. Eventually it was found impossible to pass the Bill, and a provisional settlement was arranged, whereby the Indians undertook to suspend passive resistance, whilst the Government promised to introduce satisfactory legislation in the 1912 session of Parliament, meanwhile administering the law as though it had already been altered, and specially exempting, in terms of an earlier understanding, a limited number of eudcated entrants into the Transvaal.

Taking advantage of the lull, and of the better feeling aroused at the time of the King's Coronation in India, a further mission was sent there, in order to maintain public interest and to place before the Government the points upon which the Indian community insisted. The measure of 1912, however, met with no better fate than its predecessor. and the provisional agreement was extended for another year. It was then that preparations were made throughout South Africa to welcome the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, whose tour in the sub-continent is still fresh in the minds of all. He succeeded, as no one else had yet done in raising the discussion of the Indian problem to the Imperial plane, and won the admiration even of his opponents by his moderation and statesmanship. It was during this visit that Indians later alleged, on his authority, that a

promise of repeal of the iniquitous £3 tax was made by the Government in view of the fact that, for over a year, further indentured immigration from India had been prohibited by the Indian Government.

When the 1913 Bill, however, was introduced into Parliament, and the Indian leaders observed the spirit in which the Indian question was dealt with by the Union Ministers, grave fears were aroused that a situation, which had already become still further complicated by the position created by the Searle judgment, invalidating practically every Indian marriage would once more develop into a catastrophe. The Government were warned that the marriage question must be settled if peace were desired, and that the racial bar must be finally removed from the measure. Amendments were introduced and accepted by the Government, purporting to settle the marriage controversy on the basis of the recognition of *de facto* monogamous marriages, but, even as passed, the Bill failed to satisfy the demands of the passive resisters, whilst the £3 tax remained unrepealed. A final attempt was made by the Indian leaders to avoid a revival of the struggle, and negotiations were once more opened with the Government, so as to obtain a promise of remedial legislation in the next session of Parliament. They were, however, interrupted by the European strike, during the heat of which Mr. Gandhi, as spokesman of the passive resisters, undertook to refrain from pressing the Indian case for the moment. Meanwhile, a mission had proceeded to England to co-operate with the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, at his urgent invitation, in order to bring home to the Imperial Government and the British public the extreme gravity of the situation, and the certainty of the extension of the demands of passive resisters unless a settlement of the points in dispute were promptly arrived at. All these representations, however, failed to conciliate the Union Government, which proved obdurate, and a final warning was sent to them stating that unless assurances of the introduction of legislative and administrative measures, in the following session, were given to recognise in law the validity of *de facto* monogamous marriage, to remove

the racial bar, as regards the Free state, to restore the right of entry into the Cape Colony to South African-born Indians, to repeal the £3 tax, and to administer justly and with due regard to vested interests existing legislation operating harshly against Indians, passive resistance would be immediately revived.. The warning was ignored, and the struggle was resumed in all its bitterness and on a much wider scale than before. Its incidents are too fresh in the public mind to need more than a brief mention—the campaign of the Indian women whose marriages had been dishonoured by a fresh decision of the Supreme Court, at the instigation of the Government, the awakening of the free and indentured labourers all over Natal, the tremendous strikes, the wonderful and historic strikers' march of protest into the Transvaal, the horrible scenes enacted into the latter in the effort to crush the strikers and compel them to resume work, the arrest and imprisonment of the principal leaders and of hundreds—almost thousands—of the rank and file, the enormous Indian mass meetings held in Durban, Johannesburg, and other parts of the Union, the fierce and passionate indignation aroused in India, the large sums of money poured into South Africa from all parts of the Motherland, Lord Hardinge's famous speech at Madras, in which he placed himself at the head of Indian public opinion and his demand for a Commission of Inquiry, the energetic efforts of Lord Ampthill's Committee, the hurried intervention of the Imperial authorities, the appointment over the heads of the Indian community of a Commission whose personnel could not satisfy the Indians, the discharge of the leaders whose advice to ignore the Commission was almost entirely accepted, the arrival of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson and their wonderful work of reconciliation, the deaths of Harbatsingh and Valiamma, the strained position relieved only by the interruption of the second European strike, when Mr. Gandhi once more undertook not to hamper the Government whilst they had their hands full with the fresh difficulty, and, when it had been dealt with, the entirely new spirit of friendliness, trust, and co-operation that was found to have been created by the moderation of the great Indian

leader and the loving influence spread around him by Mr. Andrews as he proceeded with his great Imperial mission.

All these things are of recent history, as are the favourable recommendation of the Commission on practically every point referred to it and out of which Passive Resistance had arisen, the adoption of the Commission's Report in its entirety by the Government, the introduction and passing into law of the Indians' Relief Act, after lengthy and remarkable debates in both Houses of the Legislature, the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts, in which the latter undertook, on behalf of the Government, to carry through the administrative reforms that were not covered by the new Act, and the Indian protagonist of passive resistance formally announced the conclusion of the struggle and set forth the points upon which Indians would sooner or later have to be satisfied before they could acquire complete equality of civil status—and the final scenes of departure, enacted throughout the country, wherein the deaths and sufferings of the Indian martyrs, Nagappen, Narayansamy, Harbatsingh, and Valiamma, were justified and sanctified to the world.

It is significant that, as passive resistance became stronger and purer, it succeeded more and more in bringing together the best representatives of the European and Indian sections of the population. With each new phase came new triumphs and new friends. Whilst every material gain has been put the restoration of that which was taken away, each gain of principle has been the concession of that which had been denied. The struggle commenced with a protest against the universal distrust and contempt for the Indian community. That distrust and contempt have been exchanged for trust and respect. It commenced with the complete ignoring of Indian sentiment. Gradually that policy, too, was altered, save that it revived acutely when the Commission was appointed over the heads of those mainly interested in its findings. To-day, however, the leaders are consulted in matters vitally affecting the welfare of the Indian community, and passive resistance has given for these disfranchised ones far more

than the vote could have won, and in a shorter time. The movement commenced with a demand for the repeal of the Transvaal Act 2 of 1907. The Act was repealed and its threatened extension to other parts of South Africa was completely prevented. At the beginning, racial legislation against Indians was threatened, so as to drive them from the Colony.

The settlement has removed the possibility of racial legislation against Indians throughout the Empire. The system of indentured immigration from India, that had been regarded almost as a permanent feature of South African economics, has been ended. The hated £3 tax has been repealed and its attendant misery and insult destroyed. Vested rights, that were tending everywhere to disappear, are to be maintained and protected. The bulk of Indian marriages, that had never previously received the sanction of South African law, are henceforth to be fully recognised in law. But above and beyond all this is the new spirit of conciliation that has resulted from the hardships, the sufferings, the sacrifices of the passive resisters. The flag of legal racial equality has been kept flying, and it is now recognised that Indians have rights and aspirations and ideals that cannot be ignored. The struggle has more than proved the immense superiority of right over might, of soul-force over brute-force, of love and reason over hate and passion. India has been raised in the scale of nations, her children in South Africa have been ennobled, and the way is now open to them to develop their capacities in peace and concord, and thus contribute their quota to the building up of this great new nation that is arising in the South African sub-continent—*From the Golden Number of "Indian Opinion."*

The Wonderful March.

THE question of the repeal of the £3 tax had become urgent already in 1908 and 1909, when an organisation had been formed for the purpose of securing it, and petitions widely signed had been sent to the then Natal Parliament, without other result than the passing of the ineffective Act of 1910, giving magistrates discretion—which some used, while others did not—to exempt certain classes of women in certain circumstances.

During his campaign in India, in 1909-10 and 1911-12, and his visit to England in 1911, Mr. Polak had pressed the question upon the attention of the people and Government of India and the British public, who had hitherto been ignorant as to the harsh incidence of the tax and grim misery that it entailed.

Accordingly, when the Hon. Mr. Gokhale came to South Africa in 1912, and set himself to the task of examining Indian grievances on the spot, he immediately seized upon the tax as one that required and was capable of immediate remedy, and he, therefore, as he has told us, made special representations on the subject at the meeting of Ministers at Pretoria, when, he is positive, a definite undertaking was given him to repeal the tax. His efforts to that end had already been foreshadowed whilst he had travelled through the Union, and he had given assurances to vast crowds of those liable to the tax that he would not rest until he had secured its repeal, a resolve that had been much encouraged by the sympathetic speeches and conversations of prominent Natalians, both at the Durban banquet and at the subsequent Chamber of Commerce meeting. And these promises, fortified by the knowledge of what had transpired at Pretoria, Mr. Gandhi, upon his return from Zanzibar, whither he had accompanied Mr. Gokhale, repeated again and again in a responsible manner, to large numbers of those affected by the tax.

When, therefore, in 1913, a measure was introduced into the Union Parliament, at the end of the session, exempting women only from its operation, but requiring them to take out an annual licence, a message was sent to Mr. Gokhale in India inquiring whether the promise of repeal had been limited to women. The reply was that it applied to all who were affected by the tax, and the Bill was promptly killed by Mr. Meyler and the late Sir David Hunter, who protested against its further progress, as they felt convinced that to pass it would be to delay total repeal indefinitely. Up to this time there had been no denial by the Government of the promise alleged.

At the rising of Parliament, Mr. Gandhi entered into fresh negotiations with the Union Government, reminding them of the promise, and asking for a definite undertaking of repeal of the tax in 1914. Meanwhile, in England, Mr. Polak, who had gone there at Mr. Gokhale's instance, had made it clear to the Imperial authorities and the British public that, whilst the repeal of the £3 tax had not previously formed part of the Passive Resisters' demands, the question had now become so acute, and Indian public feeling in South Africa had become so intense owing to what was regarded as the Union Government's breach of faith, that in the unfortunate event of the revival of the struggle, repeal of the tax would be made part and parcel of it. Lord Ampthill, too, after consulting with Mr. Gokhale, referred in explicit terms to the promise of repeal, in a portentous speech in the House of Lords. In the result, the Union Government declined to give an undertaking on the subject, though they still did not deny the promise, and the question, therefore, formed one of the five points of Passive Resistance in Mr. A. M. Cachalia's letter of the 12th September, announcing the revival of the struggle. At the same time, Mr. Gokhale, in the face of the objections of his medical advisers, hurried back to India to rouse the Government and his fellow-countrymen to action.

On September 28, and before any important activity had developed, Mr. Gandhi addressed to the Secretary for

the Interior a letter containing the following warning and appeal:—

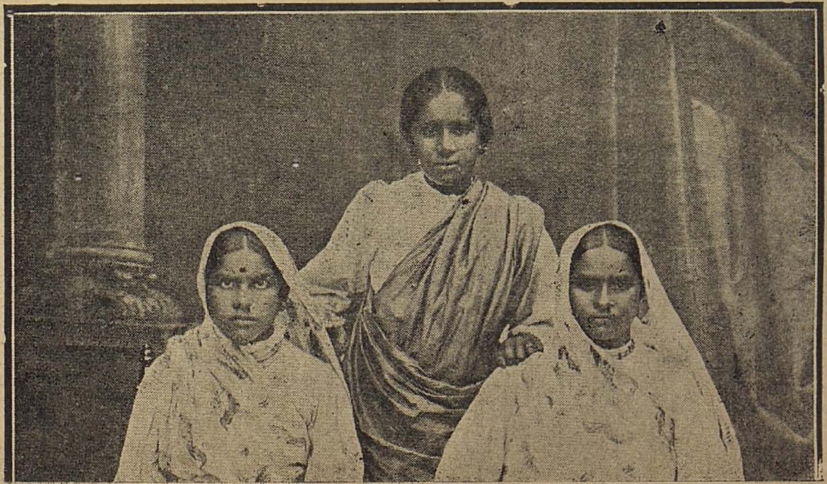
"I know also what responsibility lies on my shoulders in advising such a momentous step, but I feel that it is not possible for me to refrain from advising a step which I consider to be necessary, to be of educational value, and, in the end, to be valuable both to the Indian community and to the State. This step consists in actively, persistently, and continuously asking those who are liable to pay the £3 tax to decline to do so and to suffer the penalties for non-payment, and what is more important, in asking those who are now serving indenture and who will, therefore, be liable to pay the £3 tax upon the completion of their indenture, to strike work until the tax is withdrawn. I feel that, in view of Lord Ampthill's declaration in the House of Lords, evidently with the approval of Mr. Gokhale, as to the definite pormise made by the Government and repeated to Lord Gladstone, this advice to indentured Indians would be fully justified...... Can I not even now, whilst in the midst of the struggle, appeal to General Smuts and ask him to reconsider his decision......on the question of the £3 tax?" The letter was shown to General Smuts who vouchsafed no reply, but who also did not even then repudiate the promise, nor did he warn the employers of the intentions of the Passive Resistance leaders. A fortnight later, in a statement circulated by Reuter's Agency throughout the South African press, it was clearly stated that "the movement will also consist in advising indentured Indians to suspend work until the £3 tax is removed. The indentured Indians will not be invited to join the general struggle." The public thus received ample warning of what was toward.

The Indian women who had joined the struggle as a protest against the refusal of the Government to legalise Indian marriages and who, as Passive Resisters, had unsuccessfully sought imprisonment at Vereeniging, Germiston and Volksrust, were allowed to pass into Natal unmolested, and the first steps taken to "call out" the Indians on the coal-mines in the northern part of the Province were due to the courage and devotion of these women, whose appearance

there was almost in the nature of an accident. Under the guidance of Mr. C. K. T. Naidoo, they made Newcastle their headquarters, and, travelling from mine to mine, they made eloquent appeal to the Indian labourers and their families to cease work until an assurance of repeal of the tax was given by the Government. The response was immediate and general. Mine after mine was closed down, as the Indian labourers refused to work, and a state of panic ensued amongst the employers, who at first continued to give rations as an inducement to their employees to remain on the mines. A hurried conference of mine-owners was held at Durban, at which Mr. Gandhi was invited to be present, and he then explained the situation and referred to the promise made to Mr. Gokhale. He pointed out that the labourers were being asked to strike only so long as the £3 Tax was unrepealed, and because it had been alleged—an allegation that was subsequently discovered to be well-founded—that the employers were opposed to repeal. The conference telegraphed to General Smuts inquiring about the promise, which was denied by him and by General Botha, for the first time; but it is significant that the late Mr. Fischer, who was also present at the meeting with the Ministers, did not repudiate it, though his physical condition did not preclude his doing so. Mr. Gokhale at once cabled, stating that a promise of repeal had undoubtedly been made to him, and, as a result of the hostile attitude now taken up by the Government and by the employers, the labourers were invited to leave the mines, where improper influences were being used to induce them to return to work.

Mr. Gandhi placed himself at the head of a vast commissariat organisation, and, together with a small body of assistants, chief of whom was Mr. Albert Christopher, and with the co-operation of Mr. Kallenbach, the Indians—men, women and children—were fed and maintained at Newcastle, where they flocked by the hundred, coming by road and rail as fast as they could leave the mines, with the result that the latter, from Dundee and Ladysmith to Newcastle, were denuded of their labour supply. It was a pathetic and yet a cheering sight to watch these patient

THREE BRAVE LADIES



Mrs. Sivprasad, Miss Minnatjee and Mrs Somar, who went to gaol for the cause

THE GREAT MARCH TO THE TRANSVAAL

hundreds plodding slowly along muddy roads, in inclement weather, to the Newcastle centre, where they lived on a handful of rice, bread, and sugar a day, in the open, without shelter, without cooking accommodation beyond what they improvised on the bare veld, without comfort of any kind. But they were buoyed up with a great hope, and they had an inspiring leader. Mr. Kallenbach, too, fought their battles for them with the Newcastle municipality and magistracy, and later they saw how Mr. Gandhi shared their daily life and hardships, nursed the sick, and fed the hungry. They knew that the Indian women, who had urged them to strike, were cheerfully suffering imprisonment with hard labour, for their sake, and they felt in honour bound to struggle on until they had secured the repeal of the tax that weighed so heavily upon so many of them. And the women amongst them were no less heroic than the men. One mother, whose little child died of exposure on the road to Newcastle, was heard to say: "We must not pine for the dead; it is the living for which we must work." Such a spirit ensured ultimate success.

As their numbers swelled, it was felt that the only possible method of compelling the Union Government to realise their responsibilities and assume charge was to march the whole of the strikers into the Transvaal, there to court arrest and imprisonment, and it was accordingly decided to concentrate at Charlestown, the border village, where Messrs. Vallibhai and Mukdoom rendered great service. At the head of a large "army," therefore, Mr. Gandhi marched there on October 30th, but just before the march commenced, a number of strikers were arrested and removed to the gaols after sentence of imprisonment. Day by day hundreds more marched to or entrained for Charlestown, where a vast camp was organised, under the sanitary control of the District Health Officer, Dr. Briscoe, and rations, that were pouring in from Durban and Johannesburg Indian merchants, to which were added supplies purchased with money that was being cabled in large sums from India, were daily distributed to a gathering of men, women and children that numbered finally over 3,000.

Meanwhile, Mr. Gandhi had telegraphed the intentions of the "invaders" to the Government, who apparently took no notice of the warning. Simultaneously, efforts were made, without success, by the Deputy Protector to induce the strikers to return to work, and large batches of them were arrested, and eventually imprisoned.

At last, a week after the notification, Mr. Gandhi commenced the now famous "invasion" of the Transvaal, with a following of over 2,000. The women and children were left behind at Charlestown, in charge of Miss Schlesin and Mr. Kallenbach, who worked day and night to make their lot somewhat easier. At the border, the "army" came to a stand, whilst Mr. Gandhi, who was near the rear, having remained behind to make final arrangements, came forward to interview the police officer who, with a small patrol, was on duty at the gate of entry. Whilst these preliminaries were in train, the main body became impatient, and a mass of cheering, shouting Indians, clad in ragged clothes, and bearing their pitifully small belongings upon their heads, swarmed through the streets of Volksrust, determined to do or die, brushing the handful of police aside like so many helpless and insignificant atoms. They encamped on the farther side of the town, and the great march had commenced. The programme was to march, at the rate of some 25 miles a day, until the men were arrested on Tolstoy Farm, at Lawley, near Johannesburg, was reached, and the Government were informed of each stopping-place. Eight days were set aside to reach their destination, unless they were earlier arrested, and, from the swing and energy of their marching, it was plain that a phenomenal feat was being performed by men, many of them heavily burdened, unused to conditions of "war," but accustomed to a hard and simple life, and on a meagre and unusual diet. That night they reached Palmford, where special accommodation was offered to Mr. Gandhi, who, however, refused to accept hospitality which his humbler countrymen could not share.

Meanwhile, the Government were not altogether idle, but with that stupidity which almost invariably characterises Governments in similar emergencies, they did the

wrong thing, and issued a warrant for the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, hoping thus to demoralise the forces that he was leading. Mr. Gandhi surrendered to the warrant at Palmford, having, at the request of the authorities, pointed out some of his own followers to give evidence for him, as the Crown would not otherwise have been able to prove its case against him! He was motored swiftly to Volksrust, but the "army" silently and grimly pursued its march undeterred by the loss of its revered leader. At Volksrust, Mr. Gandhi was charged with breach of the Immigration Act and applied for bail, as he was in charge of large numbers of men entirely dependent upon him, and his application was granted. Realising, however, the probable risks that would ensue if the people were left leaderless, he addressed the following telegram to the Minister of the Interior:

"Whilst I appreciate the fact of Government having at last arrested prime mover in passive resistance struggle, cannot help remarking that from point view humanity moment chosen most unfortunate. Government probably know that marchers include 122 women, 50 tender children, all voluntarily marching on starvation rations without provision for shelter during stages. Tearing me away under such circumstances from them is violation all considerations justice. When arrested last night, left men without informing them. They might become infuriated. I, therefore, ask either that I may be allowed continue march with men, or Government send them by rail Tolstoy Farm and provide full rations for them. Leaving them without one in whom they have confidence, and without Government making provision for them, is, in my opinion, an act from which I hope on reconsideration Government will recoil. If untoward incidents happen during further progress march, or if deaths occur, especially amongst women with babies in arms, responsibility will be Government's." No reply was returned to this humane appeal, but it was understood that the Government had no intention of assuming charge of this large body of men, women and children. Writing at the time of Mr. Gandhi's arrest, the special

correspondent of the *Natal Mercury* sent his paper the following vivid description of the conditions prevailing both then and earlier at Charlestown:—

"We arrived at Palmford about 8·30 p.m. last night, and found them all sleeping in the veld, just below the station. Many of them were feeling the cold severely . . . I visited Charlestown twice on the 5th (the day before the march commenced). The whole appearance of the town resembled nothing but an Indian bazaar. The town was crowded with Indians . . . No sanitary arrangements were made at first, and the position from a health point of view was awful; but later Mr. Gandhi assisted the municipal officials, and the position was greatly improved. I found Mr. Gandhi at the back of an Indian store, in the yard, serving out curry and rice to his followers, who marched up, and each man received his quota. One baker sold 5,000 loaves to the Indians in one day."

Mr. Gandhi, upon his release on bail, swiftly motored back to his followers, rejoining them on the march, which proceeded quietly as far as Paardeberg, where the remaining women and children were left behind in charge of a few of the men, who had become footsore. The main body reached Standerton on the morning of the 8th, where a number of strikers were arrested by their compound managers, assisted by a few police, and entrained for Natal. And here, too, Mr. Gandhi was re-arrested on the same charge as before. He again requested bail, and, owing to the attitude of the strikers, who persistently refused to move from the Court precincts until their leader was restored to them, his request was granted, and the march was resumed immediately.

Sunday, the 9th, was a historic day. With a view to a final consultation with him before leaving for India, Mr. Polak had telegraphed to Mr. Gandhi, saying that he was joining him, and had received a wire suggesting Greylingstad as the meeting place, but with the warning that he (Mr. Polak) might be arrested if he came. He joined the column at a small place named Teakworth, a

few miles on the Standerton side of Greylingstad. The "army," spread along the road for a distance of some three miles, was led by a small, limping, bent, but dogged man, coarsely dressed, and using a staff, with a serene and peaceful countenance, however, and a look of sureness and content. That was Gandhi, the principal Passive Resister. The two friends greeted each other, and eagerly exchanged news. Whilst thus engaged, and when about an hour distant from Greylingstad, not far ahead was seen a Cape cart, and walking rapidly towards them were a couple of police officers, behind whom came Mr. M. Chamney, the Principal Immigration Officer of the Transvaal. Realising the pacific nature of the demonstration and of the Indian leader's intentions, Mr. Chamney had complimented Mr. Gandhi by undertaking his arrest upon a warrant issued under the Natal Indenture Law with no stronger support than this. The Cape cart, with its precious freight, drove swiftly away, and the column resumed its march quietly, under the leadership of Mr. Polak, who had at once assumed the responsibility, preceded by the two mounted policemen. A few minutes later, Messrs. Cachalia and Bhyat, who, together with Mr. Badad of Volksrust, were in charge of the commissariat arrangements, of which Mr. Polak was in entire ignorance, joined the column, having accidentally missed it on another road, and they at once proceeded to Balfour, where it was due next morning and where food supplies were awaiting its arrival. The evening was fine and clear, and the cooking-fires that were lit from end to end of the veld offered a bright and sparkling spectacle. Gradually, the buzz and throb of conversation sank, as sleep fell upon the camp. The night, however, was dismal and wretched, a cold wind howled mournfully down from the neighbouring hills, and a drizzle of rain added to the discomfort of the shelterless throng.

But the night was portentous, for it was decreed that the march should end on the morrow, though of this the marchers were as yet unaware. At four in the morning it was resumed, and the moving mass of heroic men swung forward into their stride, covering the ground at a splendid

pace, and, laden as they were, without waggons and without food, they travelled the distance between Greylingstad and Balfour, 13 miles, in 3½ hours. Upon reaching the latter place, without any police escort, just before 9 A. M. it became evident that the last stage had been reached, for three special trains were drawn up at the station to take back the strikers to Natal. Mr. Polak was approached by the Police Officer in charge of the arrangements, and by Mr. Chamney, to co-operate with them in effecting the arrest of the "army," and upon receiving their assurance that the men were really to be sent to Natal, where criminal proceedings were awaiting them, he replied that he would gladly do so, as the whole object of the march had thus been fulfilled, and his own responsibility ceased. At the same time, he offered himself for arrest also, but he was informed that the Government did not desire this. He, however, warned the officials that, in Mr. Gandhi's enforced absence, it might be difficult for him to induce compliance with their desire, as but few of the men had ever seen him before. Mr. Gandhi, however, was passing through from Heidelberg, en route for Dundee, where he was subsequently imprisoned, and sent a message urging the people quietly to surrender.

They were fed as rapidly as food could be supplied to them—a handful of rice and bread each—and then Mr. Chamney, having questioned them as to their proofs of rights of residence, proclaimed them prohibited immigrants. For the moment, chaos prevailed, as a number of stalwarts, who had set their hearts upon reaching Johannesburg, called upon the multitude to march forward, but, instantly realising the danger of this movement, which, whilst it would have resulted in bloodshed, would have swept aside the small band of twenty-five policemen in the twinkling of an eye, and let loose an uncontrolled body of men to roam over the Transvaal, who would not afterwards probably have been located, Mr. Polak, followed by Messrs. Cachalia and Bhyat, rushed to the head of the column and implored the people to remember that their objective, as passive resisters, was not

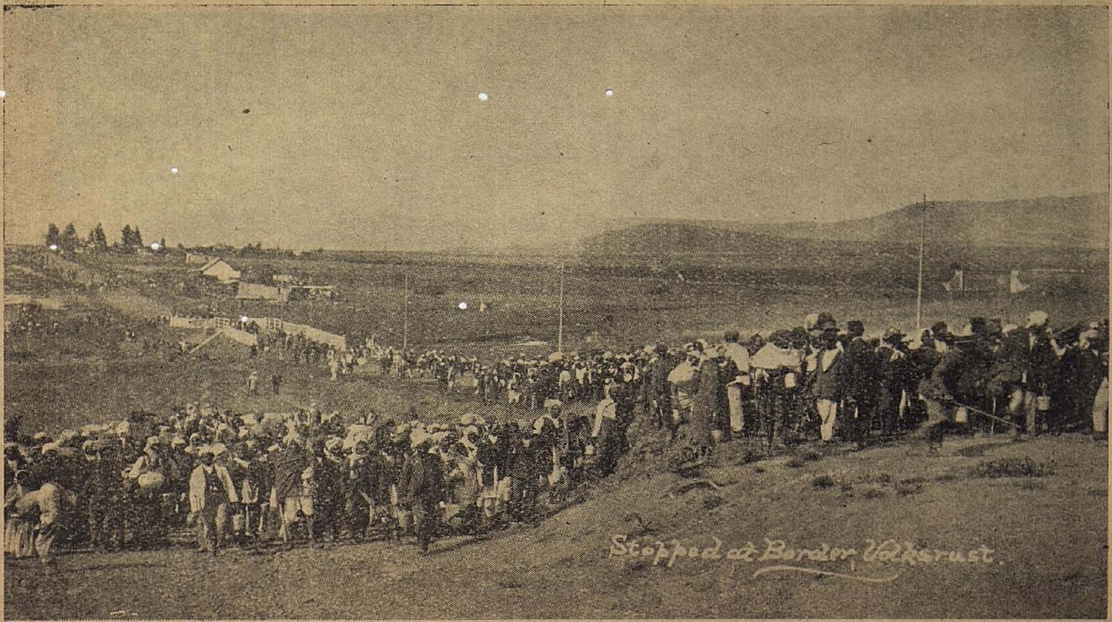
Johannesburg but gaol, and eventually peace was restored. Gradually, and in small groups, the men entrained, Mr. Polak accompanying the first train as far as Charlestown, where he was shortly afterwards arrested. Here, the strikers having been locked up without food or water for eight hours, the trains were not allowed to remain more than a couple of minutes, the platform being occupied by armed police, who kept back the women that had remained there and now urged their men-folk, with tears in their eyes and choking voices, not to mind them but to remain true to their duty. And slowly the trains steamed south, bearing nearly two thousand humble heroes to a bitter fate and a shameful experience, but firm in the knowledge that they had done what they had set out to do, and that the repeal of the hated tax was now certain. The great and impressive march was over.

The *Times* has since declared that it must live in memory as one of the most remarkable manifestations in history of the spirit of Passive Resistance. It had achieved all that its organisers, in their fondest dreams, had hoped for it. It had proclaimed, as nothing else could have done, the stubborn endurance, the dogged persistency, the grim tenacity, the stern determination, the magnificent self-sacrifice of the Passive Resisters. And it assured success. It was not a defeat, as the shallow critics had at the time proclaimed it. Had the strikers not exercised, under the guidance of trusted leaders, immense self-control—there was no pillage, no disorder, no violence—all the forces that the Government had brought against them could not have prevented their swarming over the Transvaal. But it was the glorious ending of a peaceful demonstration of workers determined upon achieving freedom for themselves, their wives, their children. A splendid victory for Truth had been won. The honour of Indian Motherland had been vindicated. Mr. Gokhale's word had been made good.

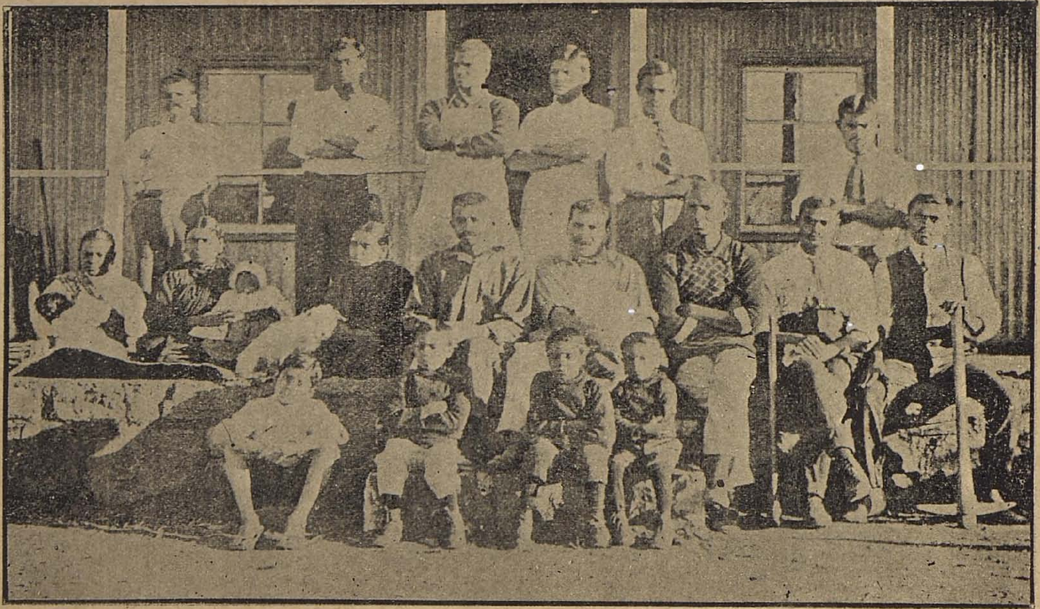
And the sign of this is to be found in the work of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson, the report of the Commission, its acceptance by the Government, the debates in Parliament, and the passing of Act 22 of 1914, repealing

the £3 Tax for ever, and granting freedom of residence in Natal to those who choose to remain unindentured. The real victory is that of the soul-force of the marchers, starving, weary, but buoyed up with unconquerable hope, over the brute-force of those who had declared their intention at all costs to maintain them in a condition of perpetual helotage.—*From the Golden Number of "Indian Opinion."*

Hoe & Co., Madras.



THE GREAT MARCH TO THE TRANSVAAL



PIONEER SETTLERS OF TOLSTOY FARM

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN QUESTION

THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE

The following is the full text of a lecture delivered at the Pachaiyappa's Hall, Madras, on October 26, 1896, by Mr. M. K. Gandhi on the "Grievances of Indian settlers in South Africa." The Hon. Mr. P. Ananda Charlu presided. Resolutions sympathising with the Indian settlers and expressing regret at the action of the Home and Indian Governments in having assented to the Indian Immigration Amendment Bill were passed. Mr. Gandhi said:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I am to plead before you this evening for the 100,000 British Indians in South Africa, the land of gold and the seat of the late Jameson Raid. This document will show you (here Mr. Gandhi read a credential from the people of Natal deputing him to plead their cause) that I have been deputed to do so by the signatories to it who profess to represent the 100,000 Indians. A large majority of this number are people from Madras and Bengal. Apart, therefore, from the interest that you would take in them as Indians, you are specially interested in the matter.

South Africa may, for our purposes, be divided into the two self-governing British Colonies of Natal and the Cape of Good Hope, the Crown Colony of Zululand, the Transvaal or the South African Republic, the Orange Free State, the Chartered Territories and the Portuguese Territories comprising Delagoa Bay and Beira.

South Africa is indebted to the Colony of Natal for the presence of the Indian population there. In the year 1860, when in the words of a member of the Natal Parliament, "the existence of the Colony hung in the balance," the Colony of Natal introduced indentured Indians into the Colony. Such immigration is regulated by law, is permissible only to a few favoured States, *e.g.*, Mauritius, Fiji, Jamaica, Straits Settlements, Damarara and other States and is allowed only from Madras and Calcutta. As a result of the immigration, in the words of another eminent Natalian, Mr. Saunders, "Indian immigration brought prosperity, prices rose, people were no longer content to grow or sell produce for a song, they could do better." The sugar and tea industries as well as sanitation and the vegetable and fish supply of the Colony are absolutely dependent on the indentured Indians from Madras and Calcutta. The presence of the indentured Indians about sixteen years ago drew the free Indians in the shape of traders who first went there with a view to supply the wants of their own kith and kin; but afterwards found a very valuable customer in the native of South Africa, called Zulu or Kaffir. These traders are chiefly drawn from the Bombay Memon Mahomedans and owing to their less unfortunate position have formed themselves into custodians of the interests of the whole Indian population there. Thus, adversity and identity of interests have united in a compact body the Indians from the three Presidencies and they take pride in calling themselves Indians rather than Madrasees or Bengalees or Gujaratees, except when it is necessary to do so. That however by the way.

These Indians have now spread all over South Africa. Natal which is governed by a Legislative

Assembly consisting of 37 members elected by the voters, a Legislative Council consisting of 11 members nominated by the Governor who represents the Queen, and a movable Ministry consisting of 5 members, contains a European population of 50,000, a native population of 400,000, and an Indian population of 51,000. Of the 51,000 Indians about 16,000 are at present serving their indenture, 30,000 are those that have completed their indenture, and are now variously engaged as domestic servants, gardeners, hawkers and petty traders and, about 5,000 are those who emigrated to the Colony on their own account and are either traders, shop-keepers' assistants or hawkers. A few are also school-masters, interpreters and clerks.

The self-governing Colony of the Cape of Good Hope has, I believe, an Indian population of about 10,000 consisting of traders, hawkers and labourers. Its total population is nearly 1,500,000 of whom not more than 400,000 are Europeans. The rest are natives of the country and Malays.

The South African Republic or the Transvaal which is governed by two elective Chambers called the Volksraad and an Executive with the President at its head has an Indian population of about 5,000 of whom about 200 are traders with liquidated assets amounting to nearly £100,000. The rest are hawkers and waiters or household servants, the latter being men from this Presidency. Its white population is estimated at roughly 120,000 and the Kaffir population at roughly 650,000. This Republic is subject to the Queen's suzerainty. And there is a convention between Great Britain and the Republic which secures the property, trading and farming rights of all persons other than natives of South Africa in common

with the citizens of the Republic.

The other States have no Indian population to speak of, because of the grievances and disabilities except the Portuguese territories which contain a very large Indian population and which do not give any trouble to the Indians.

The grievances of the Indians in South Africa are twofold, *i.e.*, those that are due to the popular ill-feeling against the Indians and, secondly, the legal disabilities placed upon them. To deal with the first, the Indian is the most hated being in South Africa. Every Indian without distinction is contemptuously called a "coolie.' He is also called "Sammy," "Ramasawmy," anything but "Indian." Indian school-masters are called "coolie school masters." Indian storekeepers are "coolie storekeepers." Two Indian gentlemen from Bombay, Messrs. Dada Abdulla and Moos Hajee Cassim, own steamers. Their steamers are "coolie ships."

There is a very respectable firm of Madras traders by name, A. Colandaveloo Pillay & Co. They have built a large block of buildings in Durban, these buildings are called "coolie stores" and the owners are "coolie owners." And I can assure you, gentlemen, that there is as much difference between the partners of that firm and a "coolie" as there is between any one in this hall and a coolie. The railway and tram-officials, in spite of the contradiction that has appeared in official quarters which I am going to deal with presently, I repeat, treat us as beasts. We cannot safely walk on the foot-paths. A Madrassi gentleman, spotlessly dressed, always avoids the foot-paths of prominent streets in Durban for fear he should be insulted or pushed off.

We are the "Asian dirt" to be "heartily cursed," we are

"chokeful of vice" "and we live upon rice," we are "stinking coolies" living on "the smell of an oiled rag," we are "the black vermin," we are described in the Statute Books as "semi-barbarous Asiatics, or persons belonging to the uncivilised races of Asia." We "breed like rabbits" and a gentleman at a meeting lately held in Durban said he "was sorry we could not be shot like them." There are coaches running between certain places in the Transvaal. We may not sit inside them. It is a sore trial, apart from the indignity it involves and comtemplates, to have to sit outside them either in deadly winter mornings, for the winter is severe in the Transvaal, or under a burning sun, though we are Indians. The hotels refuse us admission. Indeed, there are cases in which respectable Indians have found it difficult even to procure refreshments at European places. It was only a short time ago that a gang of Europeans set fire to an Indian Store in a village (*cries of shame*) called Dundee in Natal, doing some damage, and another gang threw burning crackers into the Indian stores in a business street in Durban. This feeling of intense hatred has been reproduced into legislation in the various States of South Africa restricting the freedom of Indians in many ways. To begin with, Natal, which is the most important from an Indian point of view, has of late shown the greatest activity in passing Indian legislation. Till 1894 the Indians had been enjoying the franchise equally with the Europeans under the general franchise law of the Colony, which entitles any adult male being a British subject to be placed on the voters' list, who possesses immoveable property worth £50 or pays an annual rent of £10. There is a separate franchise qualification for the Zulu. In 1894, the Natal Legislature passed a Bill disfranchising Asiatics by name. We resisted it in the Local-

Parliament but without any avail. We then memorialised the Secretary of State for the Colonies and as a result that bill was this year withdrawn and replaced by another which, though not quite so bad as the first one, is bad enough. It says that no natives of countries (not of European origin) which have not hitherto possessed elective representative institutions, founded on the Parliamentary Franchise, shall be placed on the voters' roll unless they shall first obtain an exemption from the Governor in Council. This bill excepts from its operation those whose names are already rightly contained in any voters' list. Before being introduced it was submitted to Mr. Chamberlain who has approved of it. We have opposed it on the ground that we have such institutions in India, and that, therefore, the Bill will fail in its object if it is to disfranchise the Asiatics and that therefore also it is a harassing piece of legislation and is calculated to involve us in endless litigation and expense. This is admitted on all hands. The very members who voted for it thought likewise. The Natal Government organ says in effect:

> We know India has such institutions and therefore the bill will not apply to the Indians. But we can have that bill or none. If it disfranchises Indians, nothing can be better. If it does not then too we have nothing to fear! for the Indian can never gain political supremacy and if necessary, we can soon impose an educational test or raise the property qualification which, while disfranchising Indians wholesale, will not debar a single European from voting.

Thus the Natal legislature is playing a game of "toss up" at the Indians' expense. We are a fit subject for vivisection under the Natal Pasteur's deadly scalpel and knife, with this difference between the Paris Pasteur and the Natal Pasteur that, while the former indulged in vivisection with the object of benefiting humanity, the latter has been indulging in it for the sake of amusement out of

sheer wantonness. The object of this measure is not political. It is purely and simply to degrade the Indians in the words of a member of the Natal Parliament, "to make the Indian's life more comfortable in his native land than in Natal," in the words of another eminent Natalian, "to keep him for ever a hewer of wood and drawer of water." The very fact that, at present, there are only 250 Indians as against nearly 10,000 European voters shows that there is no fear of the Indian vote swamping the European. For a fuller history of the question, I must refer you to the Green Pamphlet. The London *Times* which has uniformly supported us in our troubles, dealing with the franchise question in Natal, thus puts it in its issue of the 27th day of June of this year:—

> The question now put before Mr. Chamberlain is not an academic one. It is not a question of argument but of race feeling. We cannot afford a war of races among our own subjects. It would be a wrong for the Government of India to suddenly arrest the development of Natal by shutting all the supply of immigrants, as it would be for Natal to deny the right of citizenship to British Indian subjects, who, by years of thrift and good work in the Colony, have raised themselves to the actual status of citizens.

If there is any real danger of the Asiatic vote swamping the European, we should have no objection to an educational test being imposed or the property qualifications being raised. What we object to is class legislation and the degradation which it necessarily involves. We are fighting for no new privilege in opposing the Bill, we are resisting the deprivation of the one we have been enjoying.

In strict accordance with the policy of degrading the Indian to the level of a raw Kaffir and, in the words of the Attorney-General of Natal, "that of preventing him from forming part of the future South African nation that is going to be built," the Natal Government last year introduced their Bill to amend the Indian Immigration

Law which I regret to inform you has received the Royal sanction in spite of our hopes to the contrary. This news was received after the Bombay meeting, and it will, therefore, be necessary for me to deal with this question at some length, also because this question more immediately affects this Presidency and can be best studied here. Up to the 18th day of August, 1894, the indentured immigrants went under a contract of service for five years in consideration for a free passage to Natal, free board and lodging for themselves and their families and wages at the rate of ten shillings per month for the first year to be increased by one shilling every following year. They were also entitled to a free passage back to India, if they remained in the Colony another five years as free labourers. This is now changed, and in future, the immigrants will have either to remain in the Colony for ever under indenture, their wages increasing to 20 shillings at the end of the 9th year of indentured service, or to return to India or to pay an annual poll-tax of £3 sterling, equivalent to nearly half a year's earnings on the indenture scale. A Commission consisting of two members was sent to India in 1893 by the Natal Government to induce the Indian Government to agree to the above alterations with the exception of the imposition of the poll-tax. The present Viceroy, while expressing his reluctance, agreed to the alteration subject to the sanction of the Home Government, refusing to allow the Natal Government to make the breach of the clause about compulsory return a criminal offence. The Natal Government have got over the difficulty by the poll-tax Clause.

The Attorney-General in discussing that clause said that while an Indian could not be sent to gaol for refusing to return to India or to pay the tax, so long as there was any-

thing worth having in his hut, it will be liable to seizure. We strongly opposed that Bill in the local Parliament and failing there sent a memorial to Mr. Chamberlain, praying either that the Bill should be disallowed or emigration to Natal should be suspended.

The above proposal was mooted 10 years ago and it was vehemently opposed by the most eminent colonists in Natal. A Commission was then appointed to inquire into various matters concerning Indians in Natal. One of the Commissioners, Mr. Saunders, says in his additional report :—

Though the Commission has made no recommendation on the subject of passing a law to force Indians back to India at the expiration of their term of service, unless they renew their indentures, I wish to express my strong condemnation of any such idea, and I feel convinced that many, who now advocate the plan, when they realise what it means, will reject it as energetically as I do. Stop Indian immigration and face results, but don't try to do what I can show is a great wrong.

What is but taking the best of our servants (the good as well as the bad), and then refusing them the enjoyment of the reward, forcing them back (if we could, but we cannot) when their best days have been spent for our benefit. Whereto? Why back to face a prospect of starvation from which they sought to escape when they were young. Shylock-like, taking the pound of flesh, and Shylock-like we may rely on it meeting Shylock's reward.

The Colony can stop Indian immigration, and that, perhaps, far more easily and permanently than some 'popularity seekers' would desire. But force men off at the end of their service, this the Colony cannot do. And I urge on it not to discredit a fair name by trying.

The Attorney-General of Natal who introduced the Bill under discussion expressed the following views while giving his evidence before the Commission :—

With reference to time-expired Indians, I do not think that it ought to be compulsory on any man to go to any part of the world save for a crime for which he is transported. I hear a great deal of this question; I have been asked again and again to take a different view, but I have not been able to do it. A man is brought here, *in theory with his own consent, in practice very often without his consent*, he gives the best five years of his life

he forms new ties, forgets the old ones, perhaps establishes home here, and he cannot, according to my view of right and wrong, be sent back. Better by far to stop the further introduction of Indians altogether than to take what work you can out of them and order them away. The Colony, or part of the Colony, seems to want Indians but also wishes to avoid the consequences of Indian immigration. The Indian people do no harm as far as I know; in certain respects they do a great deal of good. I have never heard a reason to justify the extradition of a man who has behaved well for five years.

And Mr. Binns who came to India as one of the Natal Commissioners to induce the Indian Government to agree to the above-mentioned alterations gave the following evidence before the Commission ten years ago:—

I think the idea which has been mooted, that all Indians should be compelled to return to India at the end of their term of indenture, is most unfair to the Indian population, and would never be sanctioned by the Indian Government. In my opinion the free Indian population is a most useful section of the community.

But then great men may change their views as often and as quickly as they may change their clothes with impunity and even to advantage. In them, they say, such changes are a result of sincere conviction. It is a thousand pities, however, that unfortunately for the poor indentured Indian his fear or rather the expectation that the Indian Government will never sanction the change was not realised.

The London *Star* thus gave vent to its feelings on reading the Bill:—

These particulars are enough to throw light upon the hateful persecution to which British Indian subjects are being subjected. The new Indian Immigration Law Amendment Bill, which virtually proposes to reduce Indians to a state of slavery, is another example. The thing is a monstrous wrong, an insult to British subjects, a disgrace to its authors, and a slight upon ourselves. Every Englishman is concerned to see that the commercial greed of the South African trader is not permitted to wreak such bitter injustice upon men who alike by proclamation and by statute are placed upon an equality with ourselves before the Law.

The London *Times* also in supporting our prayer has compared the state of perpetual indenture to a "state perilously near to slavery." It also says :—

The Government of India has one simple remedy. It can suspend indentured immigration to South Africa as it has suspended such immigration to foreign possessions until it obtains the necessary guarantees for the present well-being and the future status of the immigrants. . . . . It is eminently a case for sensible and conciliatory action on both sides. . . . But the Indian Government may be forced to adopt measures in connection with the wider claim now being urged by every section of the Indian community and which has been explicitly acknowledged by Her Majesty's Government at home—namely, the claim of the Indian races to trade and to labour with the full status of British subjects throughout the British Empire and in allied States.

The letters from Natal informing me of the Royal sanction to this Bill ask me to request the Indian public to help us to get emigration suspended. I am well aware that the idea of suspending emigration requires careful consideration. I humbly think that there is no other conclusion possible in the interests of the Indians at large. Emigration is supposed to relieve the congested districts and to benefit those who emigrate. If the Indians instead of paying the poll-tax, return to India, the congestion cannot be affected at all. And the returned Indians will rather be a source of difficulty than anything else as they must necessarily find it difficult to get work and cannot be expected to bring sufficient to live upon the interest of their capital. It certainly will not benefit the emigrants as they will never, if the Government can possibly help it, be allowed to rise higer than the status of labourers. The fact is that they are being helped on to degradation.

Under such circumstances I humbly ask you to support our prayer to suspend emigration to Natal, unless the new law can be altered or repealed. You will naturally be anxious to know the treatment of the Indians while

under indenture. Of course, that life cannot be bright under any circumstances; but I do not think their lot is worse than the lot of the Indians similarly placed in other parts of the world. At the same time they too certainly come in for a share of the tremendous colour prejudice. I can only briefly allude to the matter here and refer to the curious Green Pamphlet wherein it has been more fully discussed. There is a sad mortality from suicides on certain estates in Natal. It is very difficult for an indentured Indian to have his services transferred on the ground of ill-treatment. An indentured Indian after he becomes free is given a free pass. This he has to show whenever asked to do so. It is meant to detect desertion by the indentured Indians. The working of this system is a source of much irritation to poor free Indians and often puts respectable Indians in a very unpleasant position. This law really would not give any trouble, but for the unreasonable prejudice. A sympathetic Protector of Immigrants, preferably an Indian gentleman of high standing and knowing the Tamil, Telugu and Hindustani languages would certainly mitigate the usual hardships of the indentured life. An Indian immigrant who loses his free pass is, as a rule, called upon to pay £3 sterling for a duplicate copy. This is nothing but a system of blackmail.

The 9 o'clock rule in Natal which makes it necessary for every Indian to carry a pass if he wants to be out after 9 P. M., at the pain of being locked up in a dungeon, causes much heart-burning especially among the gentlemen from this Presidency. You will be pleased to hear that hildren of many indentured Indians receive a pretty good education; and then wear as a rule the European dress. They are a most sensitive class and yet unfortu-

nately most liable to arrest under the 9 o'clock rule. The European dress for an Indian is no recommendation in Natal. It is rather the reverse. For the flowing robe of a Memon frees the wearer from such molestation. A happy incident described in the Green Pamphlet led the police in Durban some years ago to free Indians thus dressed from liability to arrest after 9 P. M. A Tamil schoolmistress, a Tamil schoolmaster and a Tamil Sunday school-teacher were only a few months ago arrested and locked up under this law. They all got justice in the law courts, but that was a poor consolation. The result, however, was that the Corporations in Natal are clamouring for an alteration in the law so that it might be impossible for such Indians to get off scot-free in the Law Courts.

There is a Bye-Law in Durban which requires registration of coloured servants. This Rule may be and perhaps is necessary for the Kaffirs who would not work, but absolutely useless with regard to the Indians. But the policy is to class the Indian with the Kaffir whenever possible.

This does not complete the list of grievances in Natal. I must beg to refer the curious to the Green Pamphlet for further information.

But, gentlemen, you have been told lately by the Natal Agent-General that the Indians are nowhere better treated than in Natal; that the fact that a majority of the indentured labourers do not avail themselves of the return passage is the best answer to my pamphlet, and that the railway and tram-car officials do not treat the Indians as beasts nor do the Law Courts deny them justice.

With the greatest deference to the Agent-General, all I can say as to the first statement is that he must have very queer notions of good treatment, if to be locked up

for being out after 9 P. M. without a pass, to be denied the most elementary right of citizenship in a free country, to be denied a higher status than that of bondman and at best a free labourer and to be subjected to other restrictions referred to above, are instances of good treatment. And if such treatment is the best the Indians receive throughout the world, then the lot of the Indians in other parts of the world and here must be very miserable indeed, according to the commonsense view. The thing is that Mr. Walter Peace, the Agent-General, is made to look through the official spectacles and to him everything official is bound to appear rosy. The legal disabilities are condemnatory of the action of the Natal Government, and how can the Agent-General be expected to condemn himself? If he or the Government which he represents only admitted that the legal disabilities mentioned above were against the fundamental principles of the British Constitution, I should not stand before you this evening. I respectfully submit that statements of opinions made by the Agent-General cannot be allowed to have greater weight than those of an accused person about his own guilt.

The fact that the indentured Indians as a rule do not avail themselves of the return passage we do not dispute, but we certainly dispute that it is the best answer to our complaints. How can that fact disprove the existence of the legal disabilities? It may prove that the Indians who do not take advantage of the return passage either do not mind the disabilities or remain in the Colony in spite of such disabilities. If the former be the case, it is the duty of those who know better to make the Indians realise their situation and to enable them to see that submission to them means degradation. If the latter be the case it is

one more instance of the patience and the forbearing spirit of the Indian Nation which was acknowledged by Mr. Chamberlain in his Despatch in connection with the Transvaal arbitration. Because they bear them is no reason why the disabilities should not be removed or why they should be interpreted into meaning the best treatment possible.

Moreover, who are these people who instead of returning to India settle in the Colony? They are the Indians drawn from the poorest classes and from the most thickly populated districts possibly living in a state of semi-starvation in India. They migrated to Natal with their families, if any, with the intention of settling there, if possible. Is it any wonder, if these people after the expiry of their indenture, instead of running 'to face semi-starvation,' as Mr. Saunders has put it, settled in a country where the climate is magnificent and where they may earn a decent living? A starving man generally would stand any amount of rough treatment to get a crumb of bread.

Do not the Uitlanders make out a terribly long list of grievances in the Transvaal? And yet do they not flock to the Transvaal in thousands in spite of the ill-treatment they receive there because they can earn their bread in the Transvaal more easily than in the old country?

This, too, should be borne in mind that in making his statement, Mr. Peace has not taken into account the free Indian trader who goes to the Colony on his own account and who feels most the indignities and disabilities. If it does not do to tell the Uitlander that he may not go to the Transvaal if he cannot bear the ill treatment, much less will it do to say so to the enterprising Indian. We belong to the Imperial family and are children, adopted it may be, of the same august mother, having the same rights and privi-

leges guaranteed to us as to the European children. It was in that belief that we went to the Colony of Natal and we trust that our belief was well-founded.

The Agent-General has contradicted the statement made in the pamphlet that the railway and tram-car officials treat the Indians as beasts. Even if the statements I have made were incorrect, that would not disprove the legal disabilities which and which alone have been made the subject of memorials, and to remove which we invoke the direct intervention of the Home and the Indian Governments. But I venture to say that the Agent-General has been misinformed and beg to repeat that the Indians are treated as beasts by the railway and the tram-car officials. That statement was made now nearly two years ago in quarters where it could have been contradicted at once. I had the honour to address an 'open letter' to the members of the Local Parliament in Natal. It was widely circulated in the Colony and noticed by almost every leading newspaper in South Africa. No one contradicted it then. It was even admitted by some newspapers. Under such circumstances, I ventured to quote it in my pamphlet published here. I am not given to exaggerate matters and it is very unpleasant to me to have to cite testimony in my own favour but since an attempt has been made to discredit my statements and thereby the cause I am advocating, I feel it to be my duty for the sake of the cause to tell you what the papers in South Africa thought about the 'open letter' in which the statement was made.

The *Star*, the leading newspaper in Johannesburg, says :—

Mr. Gandhi writes forcibly, moderately and well. He has himself suffered some slight measure of injustice since he came into the Colony, but that fact does not seem to have coloured his sentiment, and it must be confessed that to the tone of the open

letter no objection can reasonably be taken. Mr. Gandhi discusses the questions he has raised with conspicuous moderation.

The *Natal Mercury*, the Government organ in Natal, says :—

Mr. Gandhi writes with calmness and moderation. He is as impartial as any one could expect him to be and probably a little more so than might have been expected, considering that he did not receive very just treatment at the hands of the Law Society when he first came to the Colony.

Had I made unfounded statements, the newspapers would not have given such a certificate to the 'open letter.'

An Indian, about two years ago, took out a second class ticket on the Natal railway. In a single night journey he was thrice disturbed and was twice made to change compartments to please European passengers. The case came before the Court and the Indian got £10 damages. The following is the plaintiff's evidence in the case :—

Deponent got into a second class carriage in the train, leaving Charlestown at 1-30 P. M. Three other Indians were in the same compartment, but they got out at New Castle. A white man opened the door of the compartment and beckoned to witness, saying "come out, Sammy." Plaintiff asked, "why," and the white man replied "Never mind, come out, I want to place someone here." Witness said, "why should I come out from here when I have paid my fare." . . . . The white man then left and brought an Indian who, witness believed, was in the employ of the railway. The Indian was told to tell plaintiff to get out of the carriage. Thereupon the Indian said, "the white man orders you to come out and you must come out." The Indian then left. Witness said to the white man, "what do you want to shift me about for. I have paid my fare and have a right to remain here." The white man became angry at this and said, "well, if you don't come out, I will knock hell out of you." The white man got into the carriage and laid hold of witness by the arm and tried to pull him out. Plaintiff said, "Let me alone and I will come out." The witness left the carriage and the white man pointed out another second class compartment and told him to go there. Plaintiff did as he was directed. The compartment he was shown into was empty. He believed some people who were playing a band were put into the carriage from which he was expelled. This white man was the District Superintendent of Railways at Newcastle. (*Shame*) To proceed, witness travelled undisturbed to Maritzberg. He

fell asleep and when he awoke at Maritzberg he found a white man, a white woman and a child in the compartment with him. A white man came up to the carriage and said, "Is that your boy, speaking to the white man in the compartment." Witness's fellow-traveller replied "yes," pointing to his little boy. The other white man then said, "No, I don't mean him. I mean the damned coolie in the corner." This gentleman with the choice language was a railway official, being a shunter. The white man in the compartment replied, "Oh never, mind him, leave him alone." Then the white man outside (the official), said, "I am not going to allow a coolie to be in the same compartment with white people." This man addressed plaintiff saying "Sammy, come out." Plaintiff said, "why, I was removed at New Castle to this compartment." The white man said, "well, you must come out" and was about to enter the carriage. Witness thinking he would be handled as at New Castle said he would go out and left the compartment. The white man pointed out another second class compartment which witness entered. This was empty for a time but before leaving, a white man entered. Another white man, (the official) afterwards came up and said, "If you don't like to travel with that stinking coolie I will find you another carriage." (The Natal *Advertiser*, 22nd November 1893.)

You will have noticed that the official at Maritzburg maltreated the Indian passenger although his white fellow passenger did not mind him. If this is not bestial treatment, I should very much like to know what is, and such occurrances take place often enough to be irritating.

It was found during the case that one of the witnesses for the Defendant was coached. In answer to a question from the Bench whether the Indian passengers were treated with consideration, the witness who was one of the officials referred to replied in the affirmative. Thereupon the presiding Magistrate who tried the case is reported to have said to the witness. "Then you have a different opinion to what I have and it is a curious thing that people who are not connected with the railway observe more than you."

The Natal *Advertiser*, a European daily in Durban, made the following remarks on the case :—

It was indisputable from the evidence that the Arab had been badly treated and seeing that second class tickets are issued to Indians of this description, the plaintiff ought not to have been subjected to unnecessary annoyance and indignity. . . . . . . Some definite measures should be taken to minimise the danger of trouble arising between European and coloured passengers without rendering the carrying out of such measures annoying to any person whether black or white.

In the course of its remarks on the same case the *Natal Mercury* observed :—

There is throughout South Africa a tendency to treat all Indians as coolies pure and simple no matter whether they be educated and cleanly in their habits or not. . . On our railways we have noticed on more than one occasion that coloured passengers are not by any means treated with civility, and although it would be unreasonable to expect that the white employees of the N.G.R. should treat them with the same deference as is accorded to European passengers still we think it would not be in any way derogatory to their dignity if the officials were a little more *Suavitor in modo* when dealing with coloured travellers.

The *Cape Times*, a leading newspaper in South Africa, says :—

Natal presents the curious spectacle of a country entertaining a supreme contempt for the very class of people she can least do without. Imagination can only picture the commercial paralysis which would inevitably attend the withdrawal of the Indian population from that Colony. And yet the Indian is the most despised of creatures, he may not ride in the tram-cars, nor sit in the same compartment of a railway carriage with the Europeans, hotel-keepers refuse him food or shelter and he is denied the privilege of the public bath!

Here is the opinion of an Anglo-Indian, Mr. Drummond who is intimately connected with the Indians in Natal. He says, writing to the *Natal Mercury* :—

The majority of the people here seem to forget that they are British subjects that their Maharani is our Queen and for that reason alone one would think that they might be spared the opprobrious term of 'coolie,' as it is here applied. In India it is only the lower class of white men who calls native a 'nigger' and treats him as if he were unworthy of any consideration or respect. In their eyes as in the eyes of many in this colony, he is treated either as a heavy burden or a mechanical machine ....It is a common thing and a lamentable thing to hear the ignorant and the unenlightened speak of the Indian

generally as the sçum of the earth, etc. It is depreciation from the white man and not appreciation that they get.

I think I have adduced sufficient outside testimony to substantiate my statement that the railway officials treat the Indians as beasts. On the tram-cars, the Indians are often not allowed to sit inside but are sent 'upstairs,' as the phrase goes. They are often made to remove from one seat to another or prevented from occupying front benches. I know an Indian officer, a Tamil gentleman, dressed in the latest European style who was made to stand on the tram-car board although there was accommodation available for him.

Quoting statisticts to prove the prosperity of the Indian community is quite unnecessary. It is not denied that the Indians who go to Natal do earn a living and that in spite of the persecution.

In the Transvaal we cannot own landed property, we may not trade or reside except in specified locations, which are described by the British Agent, "as places to deposit the refuse of the town without any water except the polluted soakage in the gully between the location and the town." We may not as of right walk on the footpaths in Johannesburg and Pretoria, we may not be out after 9 P. M. We may not travel without passes. The law prevents us from travelling first or second class on the railways. We are required to pay a special registration fee of £3 to enable us to settle in the Transvaal, and though we are treated as mere "chattels" and have no privileges whatever, we may be called upon to render compulsory military service, if Mr. Chamberlain disregards the Memorial which we have addressed to him on the subject. The history of the whole case as it affects the Indians in the Transvaal is very interesting and I am only sorry that for want of time

I cannot deal with it now. I must, however, beg you to study it from the Green Pamphlet. I must not omit to mention that it is criminal for an Indian to buy native gold.

The Orange Free State has made "the British Indian an impossibility by simply classifying him with the Kaffir," as its chief organ puts it. It has passed a special law whereby we are prevented from trading, farming or owning property under any circumstances. If we submit to these degrading conditions we may be allowed to reside after passing through certain humiliating ceremonies. We were driven out from the State and our stores were closed causing to us a loss of £9,000. And this grievance remains absolutely without redress. The cape Parliament has passed a Bill granting the East London Municipality in that Colony the power to frame Bye-Laws prohibiting Indians from walking on the footpaths and making them live in locations. It has issued instructions to the authorities of East Gripuinland not to issue any trading licences to the Indians. The Cape Government are in communication with the Home Government with a view to induce them to sanction legislation restricting the influx of the Asiatics. The people in the Chartered territories are endeavouring to close the country against the Asiatic trader. In Zululand, a Crown Colony, we cannot own or acquire landed property in the townships of Eshowe and Nondweni. This question is now before Mr. Chamberlain for consideration. As in the Transvaal there also it is criminal for an Indian to buy native gold.

Thus we are hemmed in on all sides by restrictions. And if nothing further were to be done here and in England on our behalf, it is merely a question of time when the respectable Indian in South Africa will be absolutely extinct.

Nor is this merely a local question. It is as the London *Times* puts it, "that of the status of the British Indian outside India." "If," says the *Thunderer*, "they fail to secure that position, (that is of equal status) in South Africa, it will be difficult for them to attain it elsewhere." I have no doubt you have read in the papers that Australian Colonies have passed legislation to prevent Indians from settling in that part of the World. It will be interesting to know how the Home Government deal with that question.

The real cause of all this prejudice may be expressed in the words of the leading organ in South Africa, namely, the *Cape Times*, when it was under the editorship of the prince of South African journalists, Mr. St. Leger.

> It is the position of these merchants which is productive of no little hostility to this day. And it is in considering their position that their rivals in trade have sought to inflict upon them through the medium of the State, what looks on the face of it something very like an injustice for the benefit of self.

Continues the same organ :

> The injustice to the Indians is so glaring that one is almost ashamed of one's countrymen in wishing to have these men treated as natives (*i.e.*, of South Africa,) simply because of their success in trade. The very reason that they have been so successful against the dominant race is sufficient to raise them above that degrading level.

If this was true in 1889 when the above was written, it is doubly so now, because the legislators of South Africa have shown phenomenal activity in passing measures restricting the liberty of the Queen's Indian subjects. Other objections also have been raised to our presence there, but they will not bear scrutiny and I have dealt with them in the Green Pamphlet. I venture, however, to quote, from the *Natal Advertiser*, which states one of them and prescribes a statesmanlike remedy also. And so far as the objection may be valid, we are in prefect accord with the

Advertiser's suggestion. This paper which is under European management was at one time violently against us. Dealing with the whole question from an Imperial standpoint it concludes :—

It will, therefore, probably yet be found that the removal of the drawbacks at present incidental to the immigration of Indians into British Colonies is not to be effected so much by the adoption of an obsolete policy of exclusion as by an enlightened and progressive application of ameliorating laws to those Indians who settle in them. One of the Chief objections to Indians is that they do not live in accordance with European rules. The remedy for this is to gradually raise their mode of life by compelling them to live in better dwellings and by creating among them new wants. It will probably be found easier, because, more in accord with the great onward movements of mankind to demand of such settlers that they shall rise to their new conditions than to endeavour to maintain the *status quo ante* by their entire exclusion.

We believe also that much of the ill-feeling is due to the want of proper knowledge in South Africa about the Indians in India. We are, therefore, endeavouring to educate public opinion in South Africa by imparting the necessary information. With regard to the legal disabilities we have tried to influence in our favour the public opinion both in England and here. As you know both the Conservatives and Liberals have supported us in England without distinction. The London *Times* has given eight leading articles to our cause in a very sympathetic spirit. This alone has raised us a step higher in the estimation of the Europeans in South Africa and has considerably affected for the better the tone of newspapers there. The British Committee of the Congress has been working for us for a very long time. Ever since he entered Parliament, Mr. Bhownaggree has been pleading our cause in season and out of season. Says one of our best sympathisers in London :—

The wrong is so serious that it has only to be known in order I hope to be remedied. I feel it my duty on all occasions and in

all suitable ways to insist that the Indian subjects of the Crown should enjoy the full status of British subject throughout the whole British Empire and in allied states. This is the position which you and our Indian friends in South Africa should firmly take up. In such a question compromise is impossible. For any compromise would relinquish the fundamental right of the Indian races to the complete status of British subjects—a right which they have earned by their loyalty in peace and by their services in war, a right which was solemnly guaranteed to them by the Queen's Proclamation in 1857, and which has now been explicitly recognised by Her Majesty's Government."

Says the same gentleman in another letter :—

I have great hopes that justice will in the end be done. You have a good cause......You have only to take up your position strongly in order to be successful. That position is that the British Indian subjects in South Africa are alike in our own Colonies and in independent friendly States being deprived of their status as British subjects guaranteed to them by the Sovereign and the British Parliament.

An ex-Liberal member of the House of Commons says :—

You are infamously treated by the Colonial Government and you will be so treated by the Home Government if they do not compel the Colonies to alter their policy.

A Conservative member says :—

I am quite aware that the situation is surrounded with many difficulties; but some points stand out clear and as far as I can make out it is true to say that breaches of what in India is a civil contract are punishable in South Africa as though they were criminal offences. This is beyond doubt contrary to the principles of the Indian Code and seems to me an infringement of the privileges guaranteed to British subjects in India. Again it is perfectly evident that in the Boer republic and possibly in Natal it is the direct obvious intention of the Government to "hunt," natives of India and to compel them to carry on their business under degrading conditions. The excuses which are put forward to defend the infringements of the liberties of British subjects in the Transvaal are too flimsy to be worth a moment's attention." Yet another Conservative member says: "Your activity is praiseworthy and demands justice. I am, therefore, willing to help you as far as lies in my power."

Such is the sympathy evoked in England. Here too, I know, we have the same sympathy, but I humbly think that our cause may occupy your attention still more largely.

What is required in India has been well put by the *Moslem Chronicle* in a forcibly written leader:—

What with a strong and intelligent public opinion here and a well meaning Government the difficulties we have to contend with, are not at all commensurate with those that retard the well-being of our countrymen in that country. It is therefore quite time that all public bodies should at once turn their attention to this important subject to create an intelligent public opinion with a view to organise an agitation for the romoval of the grievances under which out brethren are labouring. Indeed, these grievances have become and are day by day becoming so unbearable and offensive that the requisite agitation cannot be taken up one day too soon.

I may state our position a little more clearly. We are aware that the insults and indignities that we are subjected to at the hands of the populace cannot be directly removed by the intervention of the Home Government. We do not appeal to it for any such intervention. We bring them to the notice of the public so that the fair-minded of all communities and the Press may, by expressing their disapproval, materially reduce their rigour and possibly eradicate them ultimately. But we certainly do appeal and we hope not vainly to the Home Government for protection against reproduction of such ill-feeling in legislation. We certainly beseech the Home Government to disallow all the Acts of the Legislative bodies of the Colonies restricting our freedom in any shape or form. And this brings me to the last question, namely, how far can the Home Government interfere with such action on the part of the Colonies and the allied States. As for Zululand there can be no question since it is a Crown Colony directly governed from Downing Street through a Governor. It is not a self-governing or a responsibly-governed Colony as the Colonies of Natal and the Cape of Good Hope are. With regard to the last two their Constitution Act provides that Her Majesty may disallow

any Act of the Local Parliament within two years even after it has become law having received the Governor's assent. That is one safeguard against oppressive measures by the Colonies. The Royal instructions to the Governor as also the Constitution Act enumerate certain Bills which cannot be assented to by the Governor without Her Majesty's previous sanction. Among such are Bills which have for their object class legislation such as the Franchise Bill or Immigration Bill, Her Majesty's intervention is thus direct and precise. While it is true that the Home Government is slow to interfere with the Acts of the Colonial Legislatures, there are instances where it has not hesitated to put its foot down on occasions less urgent than the present one. As you are aware the repeal of the first Franchise Bill was due to such wholesome intervention. What is more the Colonists are ever afraid of it. And as a result of the sympathy expressed in England and the sympathetic answer given by Mr. Chamberlain to the Deputation that waited on him some months ago, most of the papers in South Africa, at any rate in Natal have veered round considerably. As to the Transvaal there is the convention. As to the Orange Free State I can only say that it is an unfriendly act on the part of a friendly State to shut her doors against any portion of Her Majesty's subjects. And as such I humbly think it can be effectively checked.

It may not be amiss to quote a few passages from the London *Times* articles bearing on the question of intervention as well as the whole question generally :

The whole question resolves itself into this. Are Her Majesty's Indian subjects to be treated as a degraded and an outcaste race by a friendly government or are they to have the same rights and status as other British subjects enjoy ? Are

leading Mohammadan merchants who might sit in the Legislative Council at Bombay, to be liable to indignities and outrage in the South African Republic? We are continually telling our Indian subjects that the economic future of their country depends on their ability to spread themselves out and to develop their foreign trade. What answer can our Indian Government give them if it fails to secure to them the same protection abroad which is secured to the subjects of every other dependency of the Crown?

It is a mockery to urge our Indian fellow-subjects to embark on external commerce if the moment they leave India they lose their rights as British subjects, and can be treated by foreign governments as a degarded and an outcaste race.

In another article it says :—

The matter is eminently one for good offices and for influence for that "friendly negotiation" which Mr. Chamberlain promises, though he warns the deputation that it may be tedious and will certainly not be easy. As to the Cape Colony and Natal, the question is to a certain extent simplified since, of course, the Colonial Office can speak to them with greater authority.

The incident is one of those which suggests wider questions than any that directly offer themselves for official replies. We are at the centre of a world-wide Empire, at a period when locomotion is easy and is every day becoming easier, both in time and cost. Some portions of the Empire are crowded, others are comparatively empty, and the flow from the congested to the under-peopled districts is continuous. What is to happen when subjects differing in colour, religion and habits from ourselves or from the natives of a particular spot emigrate to that spot for their living? How are race prejudices and antipathies, the jealousies of trade, the fear of competition to be controlled? The answer, of course, must be—by intelligent policy at the Colonial Office.

Small as are the requirements of the Indian the steady growth of the population of India is such that a certain outward movement is inevitable, and it is a movement that will increase. It is very desirable that our white fellow-subjects in Africa should understand that there will, in all probability be this current flowing from India, that it is perfectly within the rights of the British Indian to seek his subsistence at the Cape, and that he ought, in the common interest of the Empire to be well treated when he comes there. It is, indeed, to be feared that the ordinary Colonist, wherever settled, thinks much more of his immediate interests than of those of the great empire which protects him, and he has some difficulty in recognising a fellow subject in the Hindu or the Parsee. The duty of the Colonial Office is to enlighten him and to see that fair treatment is extended to British subjects of whatever colour.

Again :—

In India the British, the Hindu, and the Mussalman communities find themselves face to face with the question as to whether at the outset of the new industrial movements which have been so long and anxiously awaited, Indian traders and workers are or are not to have the same status before the law as all other British subjects enjoy. May they or may they not go freely from one British possession to another and claim the rights of British subjects in allied states or are they to be treated as outcaste races, subjected to a system of permits and passes when travelling on their ordinary business avocations, and relegated, as the Transvaal Government would relegate them to a ghetto at the permanent centres of their trade? These are questions which applied to all Indians who seek to better their fortunes outside the limits of the Indian Empire. Mr. Chamberlain's words and the determined attitude taken up by every section of the Indian press show that for two such questions there can be but one answer.

I shall take the liberty to give one more quotation from the same journal :—

The question with which Mr. Chamberlain was called upon to deal cannot be so easily reduced to concrete terms. On the one hand he clearly laid down the principle of the "equal rights" and equal privilege of all British subjects in regard to redress from foreign States. It would, indeed, have been imposible to deny that principle. Our Indian subjects have been fighting the battles of Great Britain over half the old world with the loyalty and courage which have won the admiration of all British men. The fighting reserve which Great Britain has in the Indian races adds greatly to her political influence and prestige and it would be a violation of the British sense of justice to use the blood and the valour of these races in war and yet to deny them the protection of the British name in the enterprise of peace. The Indian workers and traders are slowly spreading across the earth from Central Asia to the Australian Colonies and from the Straits Settlements to the Canary Islands. Wherever the Indian goes he is the same useful well-doing man, law-abiding under whatever form of Government he may find himself, frugal in his wants and industrious in his habits. But these very virtues make him a formidable competitor in the labour markets to which he resorts. Although numbering in the aggregate some hundreds of thousands, the imimgrant Indian Labourers and small dealers have only recently appeared in the foreign countries or British Colonies in numbers sufficient to arouse jealousy and to expose them to political injustice.

But the facts which we brought to notice in June, and which were urged on Mr. Chamberlain by a deputation of

Indians last week, show that the necessity has now arisen for protecting the Indian labourer from such jealousy, and for securing to him the same rights as other British subjects enjoy.

Gentlemen, Bombay has spoken in no uncertain terms. We are yet young and inexperienced, we have a right to appeal to you, our elder and freer brethren for protection. Being under the yoke of oppression we can merely cry out in anguish. You have heard our cry. The blame will now lie on your shoulders if the yoke is not removed from our necks.

DEPUTATION TO LORD SELBORNE

Messrs. Abdul Gani (Chairman, British Indian Association), Mr. Haji Habib (Secretary, Pretoria Committee) Mr. E. S. Coovadia, Mr. P. Moonsamy Moonlight, Mr. Ayob Hajee Beg Mahomed, and Mr. M. K. Gandhi formed a deputation that waited on Lord Selborne on November 22nd, 1905. *On behalf of the deputation, Mr. Gandhi presented the following statement of the position to his Excellency :—*

STATEMENT.

There are, besides laws affecting coloured people and therefore British Indians, the Peace Preservation Ordinance and Law 3 of 1885 as amended in 1886.

THE PEACE PRESERVATION ORDINANCE

The Peace Preservation Ordinance, as its name implies, although framed to keep out of the Colony dangerous character, is being used mainly to prevent British Indians from entering the Transvaal. The working of the law has always been harsh and oppressive—and this in spite of the desire of the Chief Secretary for Permits that it should not be so. He has to receive instructions from the Colonial Office, so that the harsh working is due, not to the chief officer in charge of the Department, but to the system under which it is being worked. (*a*) There are still hundreds of refugees waiting to come. (*b*) Boys with their parents or without are required to take out permits. (*c*) Men with old £3 registrations coming into the country without permits are, though refugees, being sent away and required to make formal application. (*d*) Even wives of Transvaal

residents are expected to take out permits if they are alone, and to pay £3 registration, whether with or without their husbands. (Correspondence is now going on between the Government and the British Indian Association on the point.) (*e*) Children under sixteen, if it cannot be proved that their parents are dead, or are residents of the Transvaal, are being sent away or are refused permits. in spite of the fact that they may be supported by their relatives who are their guardians and who are residing in the Transvaal. (*f*) No non-refugee British Indians are allowed to enter the Colony, no matter what their station may be in life. (The last prohibition causes serious inconvenience to the established merchants, who, by reason thereof, are prevented from drawing upon India for confidential managers or clerks).

In spite of the declarations of her late Majesty's ministers, and assurances of relief after the establishment of civil Government, this law remains on the statute book, and is being fully enforced, though many laws, which were considered to be in conflict with the British constitution, were repealed as soon as British authority was proclaimed in the Transvaal. Law 3 of 1885 is insulting to British Indians, and was accepted totally under a misapprehension. It imposes the following restrictions on Indians :—(*a*) It prevents them from enjoying burgher rights. (*b*) It prohibits ownership of fixed property, except in streets, wards, or locations set apart for the residence of Indians. (*c*) It contemplates compulsory segregation in locations of British Indians for purposes of sanitation. And (*d*) it imposes a levy of £3 on every Indian who may enter the Colony for purposes of trade or the like.

REFORMED ADMINISTRATION OF ORDINANCE

It is respectfully submitted, on behalf of the British Indian Association, that the Peace Preservation Ordinance should be so administered that (*a*) it should facilitate the entry of all refugees without delay. (*b*) Children under sixteen should be exempt from any restriction whatsover, if they have their parents or supporters with them. (*c*) Female relatives of British Indians should be entirely free from interreference or restriction as to the rights on entry, And (*d*) a limited number of Indians, though not refugees, should on the application of resident traders who may satisfy the Permit Officer that they require the services of such men, be granted permits for residence during the period of their contract of service. (*e*) Indians with educational attainments should be allowed to enter the Colony on application.

REPEAL OF COLOUR LEGISLATION

Both the Law of 1885 and the Peace Preservation Ordinance and all other colour legislation affecting British Indians, should be repealed so soon as possible and they should be assured as to—

(*a*) Their right to own landed property. (*b*)To live where they like, subject to the general sanitary laws of the Colony. (*c*) Exemption from any special payment. (*d*) And generally freedom from special legislation and enjoyment of civil rights and liberty in the same manner and to the same extent as the other Colonists.

SUBSTITUTES SUGGESTED

Though the British Indian Association does not share the fear of the European inhabitants than an unrestricted immigration from India will swamp the latter, as an earnest of its intention to work in harmony with them and to conciliate them, it has all along submitted that—(*a*) The Peace Preservation Ordinance should be replaced by an immigration law of a general character, on the Cape or the Natal basis, provided that the educational test recognises the great Indian languages and that power be given to the Government to grant residential permits to such men as may be required for the wants of Indians who may be themselves already established in businesses. (*b*) A Dealer's Licenses Law of a general character may be passed, applicable to all sections of the community, whereby the Town Councils or Local Boards could control the issue of new trade licenses, subject to appeal to the Supreme Court to review the decisions of such Councils or Local Boards. Under such a law whilst the then existing licenses would be fully protected, except when the premises licensed are not kept in a sanitary condition, all new applicants would have to be approved of by the Town Councils of the Local Boards, so that the increase of licenses, would be largely dependent upon the bodies above-named.

MR. GANDHI'S ADDRESS

Before presenting the statement to Lord Selborne, Mr. Gandhi addressed His Excellency as follows:—

PRELIMINARY REPRESENTATIONS.

Before I deal with the statement I am to hand to your Excellency, I have been asked to mention two matters that have occurred during your recent tour through the Transvaal. Your Excellency is reported to have said at Potchefstroom that "no non-refugee British Indians would be allowed to enter the Colony until the Representative Assembly has considered the question next year."

If the report is correct, it would, as I hope to show this afternoon, be a very grave injustice to the vested rights of the Indian community. At Ermelo, your Excellency is reported to have used the expression "coolie storekeepers." This expression has given very great offence to the British Indians in the Colony, but the British Indian Association has assured them that the expression has probably not been used by your Excellency, or, if it has, your Excellency is incapable of giving thereby any intentional offence to British Indian storekeepers. The use of the word "coolie" has caused a great deal of mischief in Natal. At one time it became so serious that the then Justice, Sir Walter Wagg, had to intervene and to put down the use of that expression in connection with any but indentured Indians, it having been imported into the Court of Justice. As your Excellency may be aware, it means "labourer" or "porter." Used, therefore, in connection with traders, it is not only offensive, but a contradiction in terms.

THE PEACE PRESERVATION ORDINANCE.

Coming to the statement that the British Indian Association is submitting to your Excellency, I would take first the Peace Preservation Ordinance. Soon after the Transvaal became part of the British Dominions, the services rendered during the war by the dhooly-bearers that came with Sir George White, and those rendered by the Indian Ambulance Corps in Natal, were on many people's lips. Sir George White spoke in glowing terms of the heroism of Parbhur Singh, who, perched up in a tree, never once failed to ring the gong as a notice to the inhabitants each time the Boer gun was fired from the Umbulwana Hill. General Buller's despatches, praising the work of the corps, were just out, and the administration was in the hands of the military officers who knew

the Indians. The first batch of refugees, therefore, who were waiting at the ports, entered the country without any difficulty, but the civilian population became alarmed, and called for the restriction of the entry of even the refugees. The result was that the country was dotted with Asiatic officers, and from that time up to to-day the Indian community has known no rest; whereas aliens, in every sense of the term, as a rule got their permits at the ports on application there and then, the Indian, even though a refugee, had to write to the supervisors of Asiatics, who had to refer the applications to the Colonial Office, before permits were issued. The process took a very long time, from two to six months, and even one year and more, and then, too, the Colonial Office had laid down a rule that only so many permits should be issued to British Indian refugees per week. The result of this mode of operation was that corruption became rampant, and there grew up a gang of permit-agents who simply fleeced innocent refugees; and it was a matter of notoriety that each refugee who wanted to enter the Transvaal had to spend from £15 to £30 or more. The matter came to the notice of the British Indian Association, repeated representations were made, and ultimately the Asiatic offices were wiped out. The mode of granting permits was however, unfortunately still kept up, and the Chief Secretary for permits has been always subject to instructions from the Colonial Office. Thus the Peace Preservation Ordinance, which was intended to apply to dangerous character and political offenders, under the influence of the Colonial Office had become an Indian Immigration Restriction Law, as it remains to this day. Under the present regime, too, therefore, it is a most difficult matter for even *bona fide* refugees to get permits, and it is only

in rare cases that it is possible to get them, except after a delay of months. Every one, no matter what his status may be, has to make an application on a special form, give two references, and put his thumb impression upon the form. The matter is then investigated, and the permit is granted. As if this were not enough, owing to the charges made by Mr. Loveday and his friends, the Chief Secretary for Permits received instructions to insist on European references. This was tantamount to the denial of the right of British Indian refugees to enter the country. It would be hard to find twenty Indians who would be known to respectable Europeans by name as well as appearance. The British Indian Association had to correspond with the Government, and, in the meantime, the issue of permits was suspended, and it has been only lately realised that the insisting upon European references was a serious injustice.

THE ENTRY OF CHILDREN.

But still the difficulties apart from the necessity for European references are there. Male children under sixteen years of age are now called upon to take out permits before they can enter the Colony, so that it has been not an uncommon experience for little children of ten years of age and under to be torn away from their parents at the border towns. Why such a rule has been imposed we fail to understand.

The High Commissioner: Have you ever known a case where the parents have stated beforehand that they have children and which children have been refused permission to come in?

Mr. Gandhi: Yes; and the parents have been obliged to make affidavits before the children have been allowed to ome in.

If the parents have the right to enter, so far as I am aware every civilised country has admitted the right of minor children also to enter with them, and, in any case, children under sixteen years, if they cannot prove their parents are dead, or that their parents have been resident in the Transvaal, before the war, are not allowed to enter or remain in the Colony. This is a very serious matter. As your Excellency is aware, the "joint-family" system prevails all over India. Brothers and sisters and their children live under the same roof from generation to generation, and the eldest member in the family is nominally, as well as in reality, the supporter and the bread-earner. There is, therefore, nothing unusual in Indians bringing the children of their relatives into the country, and it is submitted that it will be a very serious injustice if such children, who have hitherto been left unmolested, are either deported from the Colony or prevented from entering the Colony. The Government, again, intend to require the female relatives of resident Indians also to be registered, in the same manner as the males. The British Indian Association has sent an emphatic protest against any such measure, and has even submitted that it would be prepared to fight the question in a court of law, as, according to the advice given to it, wives of resident Indians are not required to take out registration certificates and pay £ 3.

THE ENTRY OF SPECIAL CLERKS, ETC.

No new permits are granted by the Government, no matter how necessary it may be in certain cases. We were all extremely pleased to read in the papers your Excellency's emphatic declaration that the vested interests of the Indians who are already settled in the country should not be disturbed or touched. There are merchants

who have constantly to draw upon India for confidential clerks, in order to enable them to carry on their business. It is not easy to pick out reliable men from the resident population. That is the experience of merchants all over, and belonging to all communities. If, therefore, new Indians are absolutely shut out of the country until the establishment of representative government, it will seriously interfere with these vested interests, and in any case, it is difficult to see why men of attainments and education whether they be refugees or not, should not be able to have their permits on application. And, in spite of all these hardships, our anti-Indian friends are never tired of saying the country is flooded with British Indians who were never in the Transvaal. They have made a point of saying that every Indian who was before in the country was registered. I hardly think it is necessary for me to dilate upon this matter, as your Excellency has been told that all the facts with reference to this charge are wrong, but I may be pardoned for referring your Excellency to a case that happened in 1893. Shire and Dumat were large contractors of labour. They brought into the country at one time 800 Indian labourers. How many more they brought I do not know. The then State-Attorney insisted that they should take out registration certificates and pay £3 each. Shire and Dumat tested the matter in the High Court, and the then Chief Justice, Kotze, held that these men were not, in the terms of the law, called upon to pay £3, as they did not enter for "purposes of trade," and that he could not help the Government, even if the men, after the contract was over, subsequently remained in the country. That is only one instance, which cannot be gainsaid, in which hundreds of Indians remained in the country without paying £3 each. The

British Indian Association has always submitted, and that from personal experience, that hundreds of Indians, who did not take out trade licences, remained in the country without ever registering themselves and paying £3.

BAZAARS AND LOCATIONS

Coming to Law 3 of 1885, it has been often urged that Indians, after the establishment of British Government in this country, have received relief with reference to trade licences. Nothing, however, can be farther from the truth. Before the war, we were able to trade anywhere we liked, as against tender of payment for licence money. The long arm of the British Government was then strong enough to protect us, and up to the very eve of the war, in spite of the constant threats of the then Government to prosecute British Indians who were trading, no action was taken. It is true that now, owing to the decision of the Supreme Court, Indian trade is unfettered but that is in spite of the Government. Up to the very last moment the Government declined to come to the rescue and a notice was published called the "Bazaars Notice," which stated that, after a certain date, every Indian who did not hold a license to trade at the outbreak of war outside locations would be expected not only to remove to locations, but to trade there also. After the notice was published locations were established in almost every town, and when every effort to get justice at the hands of the Government was exhausted, as a last resort it was decided to test the matter in a Court of Law. The whole of the Government machinery was then set in motion against us. Before the war a similar case was fought, and the British Government aided the Indians to seek an interpretation of the law, which we have now received from the present

Supreme Court. After the establishment of the British Government, all these forces were against us. It is a cruel irony of fate, and there is no use disguising the fact that we have felt it most keenly, and this, I may state, as has now transpired, in spite of the fact that the then Attorney-General told the Government that the interpretation they sought to place upon the law was bad, that if it went to the Supreme Court the matter would be decided in favour of British Indians. If, therefore, British Indians have not been sent to locations and are free to trade anywhere they like, and to live where they like—as I say, it is because it is notwithstanding the intentions of the Government to the contrary. In every instance, Law 3 of 1885 has been, so far as the Indians are concerned, most strictly interpreted against us, and we have not been allowed advantage of any loopholes that are left in it in our favour. For instance, British Indians are not debarred from owning landed property in "streets, wards, or locations that may be set apart" by the Government. The Government have resolutely declined to consider the words "streets and wards," and have simply clung to the word locations, and these locations, too, have been established miles away. We have pleaded hard, saying that the Government have the power to give us the right to ownership of land in streets and wards, that they should make use of that power in our favour, but the plea has been in vain. Even land which is being used for religious purposes, the Government would not transfer in the names of the trustees, as in Johannesburg, Heidelburg, Pretoria and Potchefstroom, although the mosque premises are good in every respect, from a sanitary standpoint. It is time, we therefore submit, that some relief was granted to us, while new legislation is under consideration.

CLASS LEGISLATION.

As to the new legislation to replace Law 3 of 1885 the despatch drawn by Sir Arthur Lawley has caused us a very great deal of pain. It insists on legislation affecting British Indians or Asiatics, as such. It also insists on the principle of compulsory segregation both of which are in conflict with the repeated assurances given to British Indians. Sir Arthur Lawley, I wish to say with the greatest deference, has allowed himself to be led astray by what he saw in Natal. Natal has been held up as an example of what the Transvaal would be, but the responsible politicians in Natal have always admitted that Indians have been the saving of the Colony. Sir James Hulett stated before the Native Affairs Commission that the Indian, even as a trader, was a desirable citizen, and formed a better link between the white wholesale merchant and the Native. Sir Arthur Lawley had also stated that even if promises were made to British Indians, they were made in ignorance of the facts as they now are, and therefore it would be a greater duty to break them than to carry them out. With the greatest deference, I venture to submit that this is a wrong view to take of the promises. We are not dealing with promises that were made fifty years ago, though we undoubtedly rely upon the Proclamation of 1858 as our "Magna Charta." That proclamation has been reaffirmed more than once. Viceroy after Viceroy has stated emphatically that it was a promise acted upon. At the Conference of the Colonial Premiers, Mr. Chamberlain laid down the same doctrine and told the Premiers that no legislation affecting British Indians as such would be countenanced by her late Majesty's Government, that it would be putting an affront quite unnecessarily on millions of the loyal subjects of the crown, and that, therefore, the legislation that was passed

could only be of a general character. It was for that reason that the first Immigration Restriction Act of Australia was vetoed. It was for the same reason that the first Natal Franchise Act was vetoed, and it was for the same reason that the Colony of Natal, after submitting a draft bill applicable to Asiatics as such, had to draft another measure. There are matters, not of years gone by, but of recent years. It cannot be said that there are to-day any new facts that have come to light to change all this. Indeed, even immediately before the war, declarations were made by Ministers that one of the reasons was to protect the rights of British Indians. Lastly, but not least, your Excellency, too, gave expression to similar sentiments on the eve of the war. Though, therefore, the manner in which Sir Arthur Lawley has approached the question is, in our humble opinion, very unjust and inconsistent with the British traditions, we, in order to show that we wish to co-operate with the white colonists, have submitted that, even though no such law existed before, there may now be an Immigration Act after the basis of the Cape or Natal, except that as to the educational test, the great Indian languages should be recongnised and that the already established British Indian merchants should have facilities afforded to them for importing temporarily men whom they may require in their businesses. That will at once do away with the fear of what has been termed an Asiatic invasion. We have also submitted that with reference to trade licenses, which have caused so much grumbling, the power should be given to the Local Boards or Town Councils to regulate the issue of any new licences subject to the control of the Supreme Court. All the existing licences should be taken out of the operation of any such statute, because they represent vested interests.

We feel that if these two measure were passed, and Law 3 of 1885 were repealed, some measure, and only some measure of justice would be done to Indians. We submit that we ought to have perfect freedom of owning landed property and of living where we like under the general municipal regulations as to sanitation and appearance of buildings, and during the time that the legislation is being formed, the Peace Preservation Ordinance shobld be regulated in accordance with the spirit of such regulation, and liberal interpretation should be placed uqon Law 3 of 1885. It seems to me to be foreign to the nature of the British Constitution as I have been taught from my childhood, and it is difficult for my countrymen to understand that under the British flag which protects aliens, its own subjects should be debarred from holding a foot of landed property so long as good use is made of it. Under the conditions, therefore, submitted by the Association, it ought to be possible for the Government to free the Statute Book of the Colony from legislation that necessarily insults British Indians. I do not wish to touch on such questions as foot-path regulations, when we have to consider the question of bread and butter and life and death. What we want is not political power; but we do wish to live side by side with other British subjects in peace and amity, and with dignity and self-respect. We, therefore, feel that the moment His Majesty's Government decide to pass legislation differentiating between class and class, there would be an end to that freedom which we have learned to cherish as a priceless heritage of living under the British Crown.

DEPUTATION TO LORD ELGIN

The deputation to the Earl of Selborne, High Commissioner in South Africa having failed in its efforts to obtain redress, the Indians led by Mr. Gandhi organised an agitation in England and succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of many Englishmen in the cause of the South African Indians. An influential Committee with Lord Ampthill as President, Sir M. M. Bhownaggree as Executive Chairman and Mr. Ritch as Secretary, was formed to guard over Indian interests and a deputation from among the leading sympathisers of the cause of British Indians in South Africa was organised to wait on the Earl of Elgin, the Colonial Secretary. The deputation which consisted of Lord Stanley of Alderley, Mr. H. O. Ally, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Sir Lepel Griffin, Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., M. P., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.S.I., Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I., M. P., Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Mr. Amir Ali, Mr. Harold Cox, M. P. and Mr. Thornton, C.S.I., waited on Lord Elgin on Thursday, November 8 1906, *at the Colonial office. Lord Elgin began by saying that his sentiments would all be in favour of doing anything he could for the interest of British Indians. Sir Lepel Griffin having introduced the Delegates in a neat little speech, Mr. Gandhi as one of the two delegates from South Africa s poke as follows:—*

Both Mr. Ally and I are very much obliged to your Lordship for giving us the opportunity of placing the British Indian position before you. Supported though we are by distinguished Anglo-Indian friends, and others, I feel that the task before Mr. Ally and myself is very difficult because your Lordship, in reply to the cablegram sent to you through Lord Selborne, after the great Indian Mass Meeting in Johannesburg, was pleased to inform the British Indian Association that although you would be pleased to give us every opportunity of stating our case, no good purpose was likely to be served, as your Lordship had approved of the principal of the Ordinance, in that it gave some measure of relief to the British Indian community, though not as much as His Majesty's Government would desire. We, who are the men on the spot, and who are affected by the Ordinance in question, have ventured to think otherwise. We have felt that this Ordinance does not give us any relief whatsover. It is a measure which places British Indians in a far worse position than before, and makes the lot of the British Indian well-nigh intolerable. Under the Ordinance, the British Indian is assumed to be a criminal. If a stranger, not knowing the circumstances of the Transvaal, were to read the Ordinance, he would have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that an Ordinance of that nature, which carries so many penalties, and wounds the British Indian community on all sides, must only apply to thieves or a gang of robbers. I venture, therefore, to think that, although Sir Lepel Griffin has used strong language in connection with the Ordinance, he has not at all exaggerated, but every word of it is justified. At the same time, I beg to state that the Ordinance, as amended, does not apply to British Indian females. The draft Ordinance

undoubtedly applied to females also, but owing to the very strong protests made by the British Indian Association, and by Mr. Ally separately, as Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society, pointing out the great violence that would have been done to female sanctity, if I may say so, the Ordinance was amended so as to take females out of its operation. But it applies to all adult males and even to children, in that the parents or guardians have to take out registration certificates for their children or wards, as the case may be.

It is a fundamental maxim of the British law that everyone is presumed to be innocent until he is found guilty, but the Ordinance reverses the process, brands every Indian as guilty, and leaves no room for him to prove his innocence. There is absolutely nothing proved against us, and yet every British Indian, no matter what his status is, is to be condemned as guilty, and not treated as an innocent man. My Lord, an Ordinance of this nature it is not possible for British Indians to reconcile themselves to. I do not know that such an Ordinance is applicable to free British subjects in any part of His Majesty's Dominions.

Moreover, what the Transvaal thinks to-day, the other Colonies think to-morrow. When Lord Milner sprang his Bazaar Notice on British Indians, the whole of South Africa rang with the idea. The term "bazaar" is a misnomer; it has been really applied to locations where trade is utterly impossible. However, a proposal was seriously made, after a Bazaar Notice by the then Mayor of Durban, Mr. Ellis Brown, that Indians should be relegated to bazaars. There is not the slightest reason why this Ordinance also, if it ever becomes law, should not be copied by the other parts of South Africa. The position to-day in Natal is that even indentured Indians are not required

to carry passes as contemplated by the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance; nor are there any penalties attached to to the non-carrying of passes as are defined in the Ordinance under discussion. We have already shown, in our humble representation, that no relief has been granted by this Ordinance, because the remission of the £ 3 fee referred to by Mr. Duncan is quite illusory, because all we British Indians resident in the Transval, who are obliged to pay £3 under Law 3 of 1885, and those who, under Lord Selborne's promises are likely to be allowed to re-enter the Transval, have paid the £3 already.

The authority to issue temporary permits is also superfluous, in that the Government have already exercised the power, and there are to-day in the Transvaal several Indians in possession of temporary permits. They are liable to be expelled from the Colony on tne expiry of their permits.

The relief under the Liquor-Ordinance is, British Indians feel, a wanton insult. So much was this recognised by the local Government that they immediately assured the Indians that it was not intended for British Indians at all, but for somebody else. We have no connection with anybody else, and we have always endeavoured to show that the British Indians ought to be treated as British subjects, and ought not to be included with the general body of Asiatics with respect to whom there may be a need for some restrictions which ought not to apply to British Indians as British subjects.

There remains one more sentiment, that is, in connection with the land owned by the late Aboobaker. The land should belong to the heirs by right, but under the interpretation reluctantly put upon it by the Supreme Court, that it is only individual in character, and does not touch the community, the land cannot be transmitted to

the heirs. The Ordinance is intended to rectify the error, but as I had the honour to represent the heirs, I ventured to think that even they would not consent to pay for getting this relief at the price, in the nature of the Ordinance for British Indians; and certainly the Indian community can never exchange, for the relief given to the heirs of the land of Aboobaker, an Ordinance of this nature, whiah requires them to pay so great a price for what is really their own. So that under the Ordinance, in that respect again, there is absolutely no relief. As I said before, we shall be under the Ordinance branded as criminals.

My Lord, the existing legislation is severe enough. I hold in my hands returns from the Court of the Magistrate at Volksrust. Over 150 successful prosecutions of Indians attempting to enter the Transvaal have taken place during the years 1905 and 1906. All these prosecutions, I venture to say, are by no means just. I venture to believe that if these prosecutions were gone into, you would see that some of them wese absolutely groundless.

So far as the question of identification is concerned, the present laws are quite enough. I produce to Your Lordship the Registration Certificate held by me, and it will show how complete it is to establish identification. The present law can hardly be called an amendment. I produce before Your Lordship a registration receipt held by my colleague, Mr. Ally, from the Transvaal Govern-Government. Your Lordship will see that it is merely a receipt for £3. The registration under the present Ordinance is of a different type. When Lord Milner wished to enforce Law 3 of 1885, he suggested new registration. We protested against it, but on his strong advice, as a voluntary act, we allowed ourselves to be newly registered; and hence the form produced before Your

Lordship. At the time the registration was undertaken, Lord Milner stated emphatically that it was a measure once for all, and that it would form a complete title to residence by those who hold such registration certificates. Is all this now to be undone?

Your Lordship is doubtless aware of the Punia case, wherein a poor Indian woman in the company of her husband, was torn away from her husband, and was ordered by the Magistrate to leave the country within seven hours. Fortunately, relief was granted in the end, as the matter was taken up in time. A boy under eleven years was also arrested and sentenced to pay a fine of £30 or to go to gaol for three months, and at the end of it to leave the country. In this case again, the Supreme Court has been able to grant justice. The conviction was pronounced to be wholly bad, and Sir James Rose-Innes stated that the Administration would bring upon itself ridicule and contempt if such a policy was pursued. If the existing legislation is strong enough, and severe enough to thus prosecute British Indians, is it not enough to keep out of the colony British Indians who may attempt fraudulently to enter it?

It has been stated that the reason for passing the Ordinance is that there is an unauthorised influx of British Indians into the Transvaal, on a wholesale scale, and that there is an attempt, on the part of the Indian community, to introduce Indians in such a manner. The last charge has been, times without number, repudiated by the Indian community, and the makers of the charge have been challenged to prove their statement. The first statement has also been denied.

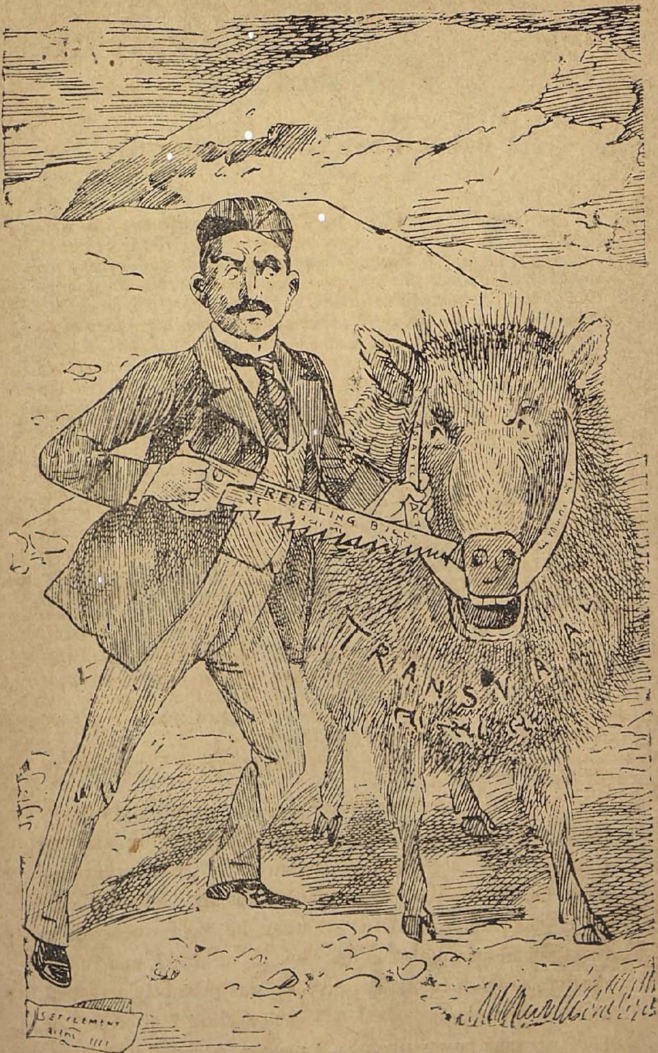
I ought to mention one thing also: that is, the fourth resolution that was passed at the British Indian Mass Meeting. It was passed by the meeting solemnly,

prayerfully, and in all humility, and the whole of that great meeting decided by that resolution that if this Ordinance ever came to be enforced and we did not get relief, the British Indians, rather than submit to the great degradation involved in it, would go to gaol, such was the intensity of the feeling aroused by the Ordinance. We have hitherto suffered much in the Transvaal and in other parts of South Africa; but the hardship has been tolerable; we have not considered it necessary to travel 6000 miles to place the position before the Imperial Government. But the straining point has been reached by the Ordinance, and we felt that we should, in all humility, exhaust every resource, even to the extent of sending a deputation to wait on Your Lordship.

The least, therefore, that in my humble opinion is due to the British Indian community, is to appoint a Commission as suggested in the humble representation submitted to Your Lordship. It is a time-honoured British custom that, whenever an important principle is involved, a Commission is appointed before a step is taken. The question of Alien Immigration into the United Kingdom is a parallel case. Charges somewhat similar to the charges against the Indian community were made against the aliens who enter the United Kingdom. There was also the question of adequacy of the existing legislation, and the necessity for further legislation. All these three points were referred to a Commission before any step was taken. I therefore venture to think that a Commission should be appointed, and the whole question thrashed out before any drastic measures are taken.

I venture therefore to hope that Your Lordship will see your way to grant this small measure of relief to the British Indian community.

RIDING THE INDIAN OX TO DEATH



SAWING

BEFORE THE COURT IN 1907

Mr. Gandhi's appeal to Lord Elgin and the efforts of the British Committee in London were successful only to the extent of securing from Lord Elgin a declaration that the ordinance would be hung up until the matter had received the consideration of the Transvaal Parliament that was shortly to come into being. A constitutional Government was soon after formed in the Transvaal and the new measure received the Royal Assent and became Law. The Indian Community in Transvaal seeing that their efforts were all in vain determined to fight and risk the consequences of disobedience in accordance with the resolution passed at a vast mass meeting of some 3,000 British Indians held at the Empire Theatre, Johannesburg.

On the 26th December, 1907, the Royal Assent to the Immigration Act was announced, and simultaneously came the news that a number of the leaders of the two Asiatic communities were warned to appear before the Magistrate to show cause why, having failed to apply for registration, as required by the law, they should not be ordered to leave the Transvaal. They were directed to leave the Colony within a given period, and failing to do so, they were sentenced to simple imprisonment for two months. Mr. Gandhi was one of those arrested and brought to trial.

In Christmas week of 1907 Mr. Gandhi received a telephone message from Mr. H. F, D. Papenfue, acting Commissioner of Police for the Transvaal asking him to call at Marlborough House. Upon arriving there, he was informed that the arrests had been ordered of himself and 25 others.

The following account of the proceedings in Court is taken from the "Indian Opinion."

Mr. Gandhi gave his word that all would appear before the respective magistrates at 10 A.M. next day and the Commissioner accepted this guarantee. Next morning when he attended at the B. Criminal Court he was asked by the Superintendent whether he held duly issued registration certificates under law 2 of 1907, and upon receiving replies in the negative, he was promptly arrested, and charged under section 8 sub-section 2 of Act 2 of 1907, in that he was in the Transvaal without a registra-

tion certificate issued under the act. The Court was crowded to excess, and it seemed as if, at one time, the barrier would be overthrown.

Mr. D. J. Schurman prosecuted on behalf of the Crown.

Mr. Gandhi pleaded guilty.

Sup. Vernon gave evidence as to the arrest.

Mr. Gandhi asked no questions, but went into the box prepared to make a statement. He said what he was about to state was not evidence but he hoped the Court would grant him indulgence to make a short explanation, seeing that he was an officer of that Court. He wished to say why he had not submitted to this.

Mr. Jordan (Magistrate): I don't think that has anything to do with it. The law is there, and you have disobeyed it. I do not want any political speeches made.

Mr. Gandhi: I do not want to make any political speeches.

Mr. Jordan: The question is, have you registered or not? If you have not registered there is an end of the case. If you have any explanation to offer as regards the order I am going to make that is another story. There is the law, which has been passed by the Transvaal legislature and sanctioned by the Imperial Government. All I have to do and all I can do is to administer that law as it stands.

Mr. Gandhi: I do not wish to give any evidence in extenuation and I know that legally I cannot give evidence at all.

Mr. Jordan: All I have to deal with is legal evidence. What you want to say, I suppose is that you do not approve of the law and you conscientiously resist it.

Mr. Gandhi: That is perfectly true.

Mr. Jordan : I will take the evidence if you say you conscientiously object.

Mr. Gandhi was proceeding to state when he came to the Transvaal and the fact that he was Secretary to the British Indian Association when Mr. Jordan said he did not see how that affected the case.

Mr. Gandhi : I said that before and I simply asked the indulgence of the Court for five minutes.

Mr. Jordan : I don't think this is a case in which the Court should grant any indulgence ; you have defied the law.

Mr. Gandhi : Very well, sir, then I have nothing more to say.

The Magistrate then ordered Mr. Gandhi to leave the country in 48 hours.

On the 11*th January* 1908 *Mr. Gandhi appeared before the Court, and he pleaded guilty to the charge of disobeying the order of the Court to leave the Colony within* 48 *hours.*

Mr. Gandhi asked leave to make a short statement and having obtained it, he said he thought there should be a distinction made between his case and those who were to follow. He had just received a message from Pretoria stating that his compatriots had been tried there and had been sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour, and they had been fined a heavy amount in lieu of payment of which they would receive a further period of three months' hard labour. If these men had committed an offence, he had committed a greater offence, and he asked the magistrate to impose upon him the heaviest penalty.

Mr. Jordan : You asked for the heaviest penalty which the law authorised ?

Mr. Gandhi : Yes, Sir.

Mr. Jordan: I must say I do not feel inclined to accede to your request of passing the heaviest sentence which is six months' hard labour with a fine of £500. That appears to me to be totally out of proportion to the offence which you have committed. The offence practically is contempt of Court in having disobeyed the order of December 28, 1907. This is more or less a political offence, and if it had not been for the political defiance set to the law I should have thought it my duty to pass the lowest sentence which I am authorised by the act. Under the circumstance, I think a fair sentence to meet the case would be two months' imprisonment without hard labour.

Mr. Gandhi was then removed in custody.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE ASSAILANTS.

As licences to trade or to hawk were refused without the production of the new registration certificates, many men were sentenced to imprisonment for hawking without a licence, until the Johannesburg gaol was uncomfortably crowded. Realising that there was no sign of the passive resistance movement breaking down and impressed by the determination of the Asiatic communities, as well as the increasing pressure of public opinion not only in England and India, but also in South Africa and the Transvaal itself, General Smuts decided to try a truce, and accordingly invited negotiations from the imprisoned Indian leaders. As a result of these negotiations, General Smuts suspended the operation of the Act, and agreed to accept voluntary re-registration, promising at the same time to introduce repealing legislation in the next Session of Parliament, provided that voluntary re-registration had

been satisfactorily effected. True to his promise Mr. Gandhi took to voluntary re-registration and began advising his countrymen to do so.

One morning in February, 1908 *when Mr. Gandhi set out to fulfil his pledge to the Transvaal Government that he would undertake voluntary registration, he was attacked by a small section of the Passive Resisters who imagined that Mr.Gandhi was playing the coward and betraying his trust. Though bleeding profusely he refused to seek police protection against his own countrymen and would not permit the Doctor to stitch up his face before completing the form of application for voluntary registration. That same day though tossing with fever he issued the following manifesto from his sick bed :—*

Those who have committed the act did not know what they were doing. They thought that Iwas doing what was wrong. They have had their-redress in the only manner they know. I, therefore, request that no steps be taken against them.

Seeing that the assault was committed by a Mahomedan or Mahomedans, the Hindus might probably feel hurt. If so, they would put themselves in the wrong before the world and their Maker. Rather let the blood spilt to-day cement the two communities indissolubly—such is my heartfelt prayer. May God grant it ! . . . . The spirit of passive resistance rightly understood should make the people fear none and nothing but God—no cowardly fear, therefore, should deter the vast majority of sober-minded Indians from doing their duty. The promise of repeal of the Act, against voluntary registration, having been given, it is the sacred duty of every true Indian to help the Government and the Colony to the uttermost.

THE ISSUE AT STAKE

Undisturbed in any way by the murderous attack on him, Mr. Gandhi was able to secure the voluntary re-registration of his country-men by the middle of May, 1908. It was now time for Gen. Smuts to carry out his promise to repeal the obnoxious act. It was clear however Gen. Smuts was determined to depart from his promise and to "break faith." Immediate protests were made by both the British Indian and Chinese leaders to General Smuts, who, however, failed to satisfy them, constantly evading the issue. Finally he invited Mr. Gandhi to discuss the difficulty with him, and at the interview produced a Draft Bill to repeal the Act, on condition that Mr. Gandhi, on behalf of the British Indian community, would consent to regard certain classes of Indians as prohibited emigrants, including even those who could pass the most severe education test of the Immigration Act. Recognising at once that General Smuts' intention was to substitute for one piece of insulting legislation an even more humiliating law, Mr. Gandhi indignantly refused to contemplate the suggestion, and negotiations were abruptly broken off. The agitation was in full swing; the jails became crowded as usual; a deputation was sent to England to explain to the British public how General Smuts had broken faith and was playing with the liberty and the conscience of the Indian community. The following statement issued by Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Haji Habib on the 5th Nov. 1909 in London gives an account of the abortive negotiation made in England by Mr. Gandhi and the British Committee there for redressing the wrongs of the Transvaal Indians:—

The Transvaal British Indian Deputation arrived in London on the 10th day of July last. The enclosed statement of the British Indian case in that Colony was prepared immediately after the arrival in London of that Deputation, but it was not issued as delicate negotiations with a view to arriving at a quiet settlement were in progress. We have now learnt that these have proved abortive and that the position remains unchanged. It has, therefore, become necessary for us to inform the public as to how the matter stands and what the struggle of the British Indians in the Transvaal means.

The ex-Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal, during its administration as a Crown Colony, writing in a magazine in South Africa in the month of February last, thus correctly summed up the question :

> The position of the Indian leaders is that they will tolerate no law which does not put them on an equality with Europeans in regard to restriction on immigration. They are willing to see the number of Asiatics limited by administrative action......... They insist on equality in the terms of the law itself.

That is still the position.

Mr. Smuts, the present Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal, offers to repeal the Registration Law around which the struggle has been raging for the last three years, and to concede to a limited number of British Indians, *other* than former residents of the Transvaal, certificates of permanent residence. Were the object aimed at by the British Indians the admission into the Colony of a few more of their brethren, this concession would be material, but the object they have had in view in agitating for the repeal of the Law being to secure legal or theoretical equality in respect of immigration, their purpose is by the proposed maintenance of the legal disability not advanced a step. We are not aware whether the above modification of the present law proposed by Mr. Smuts

will take place irrespective of the continuance of the passive resistance at present being offered by the British Indians of the Transvaal, but we are in a position to state that the proposed concession will not satisfy passive resisters. The struggle of the Indian community of that Colony was undertaken in order to obtain the removal of the stigma cast upon the whole of India by this legislation, which imports a racial and colour bar into the Immigration Laws of a British Colony for the first time in the history of Colonial legislation. The principle so laid down that British Indians may not enter the Transvaal because they are British Indians is a radical departure from traditional policy, is un-British and intolerable, and if that principle is accepted even tacitly by British Indians we consider that they will be untrue to themselves, to the land of their birth, and to the Empire to which they belong. Nor is it the passive resisters in the Transvaal who in a matter of this kind have alone to be considered. The whole of India is now awakened to a sense of the insult that the Transvaal legislation offers to her, and we feel that the people here, at the heart of the Empire, cannot remain unmoved by this departure, so unprecedented and so vital, from Imperial traditions. Mr. Smuts' proposal brings out the issue in the clearest manner possible. If we were fighting not for a principle but for loaves and fishes, he would be prepared to throw them at us in the shape of residential permits for the small number of cultured British Indians that may be required for our wants, but because we insist upon the removal of the implied racial taint from the legislation of the Colony, he is not prepared to yield an inch. He would give us the husk without the kernel. He declines to remove the badge of inferiority, but is ready to change

the present rough-looking symbol for a nicely polished one. British Indians, however, decline to be deluded. They may yield everything, occupy any position, but the badge must be removed first. We, therefore, trust that the public will not be misled by the specious concessions that are being offered, into the belief that British Indians because they do not accept them, are unreasonable in their demands, that they are uncompromising, and that, therefore, they do not deserve the sympathy and support of a common sense and practical public. In the final reply received by us from Lord Crewe the following is the position that is taken up :

> His Lordship explained to you that Mr. Smuts was unable to accept the claim that Asiatics should be placed in a position of equality with Europeans in respect of right of entry or otherwise.

Herein lies the crux. Legal equality in respect of the right of entry, even though never a man does enter, is what British Indians have been fighting for, and according to the reports we have received from the Transvaal, is what some of them, at least, will die for. The only possible justification for holding together the different communities of the Empire under the same sovereignty is the fact of elementary equality, and it is because the Transvaal legislation cuts at the very root of this principle that British Indians have offered a stubborn resistance.

It would be contrary to fact to argue that no relief can be had in this matter because the Transvaal is a Self-Governing Colony, and because now South Africa has got its Union. The difficulty of the situation is due to a mistake committed at the centre of the Empire. The Imperial Government are party to the crime against the Imperial Constitution. They sanctioned when they need not have, and when it was their duty not to have sanctioned the legislation in question. They are now undoubtedly

most anxious to settle this troublesome matter. Lord Crewe has endeavoured to bring about a satisfactory result, but he is too late. Mr. Smuts, perhaps, very properly has reminded his Lordship of the fact that the legislation in question had received Imperial sanction, and that he should or could now be called upon to retrace his steps, because the British Indians in the Transvaal had undertaken to disregard the legislation, and to suffer the penalties of such disregard. His position as a politician and as an aspirant to high office " in a white South Africa" is unquestionable, but neither the British public nor the Indian public are interested in his position nor are they party to this crime of the Imperial Government.

We may add that during the last four months arrests and imprisonments have gone on unabated. The leaders of the community continue to go to prison. The severity of the prison regulations is maintained. The prison diet has been altered for the worse. Prominent medical men of Johannesburg have certified that the present dietary scale for Indian prisoners is deficient. The authorities, unlike their action during last year, have ignored the religious scruples of Mahomedan prisoners, and have refused to give facilities for observing the sacred annual fast which millions of Mahomedans scrupulously undergo from year to year. Sixty passive resisters recently came out of the Pretoria gaol emaciated and weak. Their message to us is that, starved as they were, they are ready to be re-arrested as soon as the Government wish to lay their hands on them. The Acting Chairman of the British Indian Association has only just been arrested and sentenced to be imprisoned for three months with hard labour. This is his third term. He is a Mahomedan. A brave Parsee, a well-educated man, was deported to Natal. He re-entered

and is now undergoing six months' imprisonment with hard labour. He is in gaol for the fifth time. A young Indian, an ex-Volunteer Sergeant, has also gone to gaol for the third time on the same terms as the Parsee. Wives of imprisoned British Indians and their children either take up baskets of fruit, hawk about and earn their living in order to support themselves, or are being supported from contributions. Mr. Smuts, when he re-embarked for South Africa, said that he had arrived at an understanding with Lord Crewe that would satisfy the large body of British Indians who were heartily sick of the agitation. His prophecy has been totally disproved by what has happened since.

BEFORE THE COURT IN 1913.

While Mr. Gandhi was leading a deputation to England another deputation led by Mr. Polak came to India to press the question of the repeal of the £ 3 tax. Then followed an agitation in England and India in 1910-1912 which compelled attention of the authorities. Then came the triumphal visit of Mr. Gokhale to South Africa. Mr. Gokhale made special representations to the Union Ministers on this particular question and a definite undertaking was given to him to repeal the tax. For a time it appeared that settlement was possible. But General Smuts again evaded and the tension became more acute. When in 1913 a measure was introduced into the Union Parliament exempting women only from its operation Mr. Gandhi wired to Mr. Gokhale asking whether the promise of repeal was limited to women only. Mr. Gokhale replied that it applied to all who were affected by the tax. Mr. Gandhi reminded the Union Government of the promise and asked for a definite undertaking to repeal it in 1914. The Union Government declined. It was then that Mr. Gandhi organised the great movement advising indentured Indians to suspend work till the tax was repealed, Under his lead the Indian labourers gathered in thousands and they passed mine after mine adding to their numbers. Then commenced the historic March into the Transvaal allowing themselves to be freely arrested. The Government hoping to demoralise the Indians issued a warrant to arrest Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi was on the 11th November 1913 charged on three counts, before the Resident Magistrate, Mr. J. W. Cross, of Dundee, with inducing indentured immigrants to leave the Province. The court was crowded with Indians and Europeans, Mr. W. Dalzell-Turnbull was specially instructed by the Attorney-General to appear for the prosecution, and Mr. Advocate J. W. Godfrey appeared for Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi pleaded guilty to the charges.

Mr. Turnbull read the section and left the matter in the hands of the Magistrate.

Mr. Godfrey stated that he was under an obligation to the defendent not to plead in mitigation in any way whatsoever. The circumstances which had brought Mr. Gandhi before the Magistrate were well known to all persons, and he was only expressing the desire of the defendant when he stated that the Magistrate had a duty to perform, and that he was expected to perform that duty fearlessly, and should therefore not hesitate o impose the highest sentence upon the prisoner if he felt that he circumstances in the case justified it.

Mr. Gandhi obtained the permission of the Court, and made the following statement.

As a member of the profession, and being an old resident of Natal, he thought that, in justice to himself and the public, he should state that the counts against him were of such a nature that he took the responsibility imposed upon him, for he believed that the demonstration for which these people were taken out of the Colony was one for a worthy object. He felt that he should say that he had nothing against the employers, and regretted that in this campaign serious losses were being caused to them. He appealed to the employers also, and he felt that the tax was one which was heavily weighing down his countrymen, and should be removed. He also felt that he was in honour bound, in view of the position of things between Mr. Smuts and Professor Gokhale, to produce a striking demonstration. He was aware of the miseries caused to the women and babes in arms. On the whole, he felt he had not gone beyond the principles and honour of the profession of which he was a member. He felt that he had only done his duty in advising his countrymen, and it was his duty to advise them again, that until the tax were removed, to leave work and subsist upon rations obtained by charity. He was certain that without suffering it was not possible for them to get their grievance remedied.

The Magistrate then addressed as follows:—In this case the accused had pleaded guilty to the three counts, aud the section of law under which the accused was charged made him liable to a fine of £ 20 for each immigrant he attempted to induce, or induced, to leave the Province. Mr. Gandhi was an educated gentleman, and had the distinction of being a member of the legal profession, and whatever he had done, he had done,

with a full knowledge of the consequences of his act. The Magistrate then referred to the conditions under which Indians were brought into this Province, and the terms they had agreed upon for remaining here after the expiry of their indentures. He also referred to the contention of the Indians regarding Mr. Smuts' alleged promise to the Indians. The Natal members of Parliament had consented to the tax being removed so far as it affected the women and children, but not the men. The Government had, therefore, not broken faith with the Indians and he believed this was the ground upon which Mr. Gandhi had advised the Indians to strike. To strike was to defy the law, and the Government's position was that so long as the Indians were out on strike, it was impossible for them to consider any legislation regarding repeal. The defendant was by his threatening conduct, only bringing ruination to the men and harshness upon themselves. He therefore advised the Indians to stop the passive resistance, and make representations to the Government. He also believed that the Indians were alienating the sympathy of the Europeans who were at one with the Indians in requesting the Government for the repeal of the tax. It was a painful duty to pass sentence upon the conduct of a gentleman like Mr. Gandhi, upon the deliberate contravention of the law, but he had a duty to perform, and Mr. Godfrey, his counsel, had asked him fearlessly to perform that duty. The accused having pleaded guilty, he (the Magistrate) accepted that plea, and passed the following sentences :—Count 1, £20, or three months' imprisonment, with hard labour ; Count 2, £20, or three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, to take effect upon the expiration of the sentence in respect to Count 1 ; Count 3, £20, or three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, this to

take effect upon the expiration of the sentence imposed in Count 2.

Mr. Gandhi, in a clear and calm voice, said : "I elect to go to gaol."

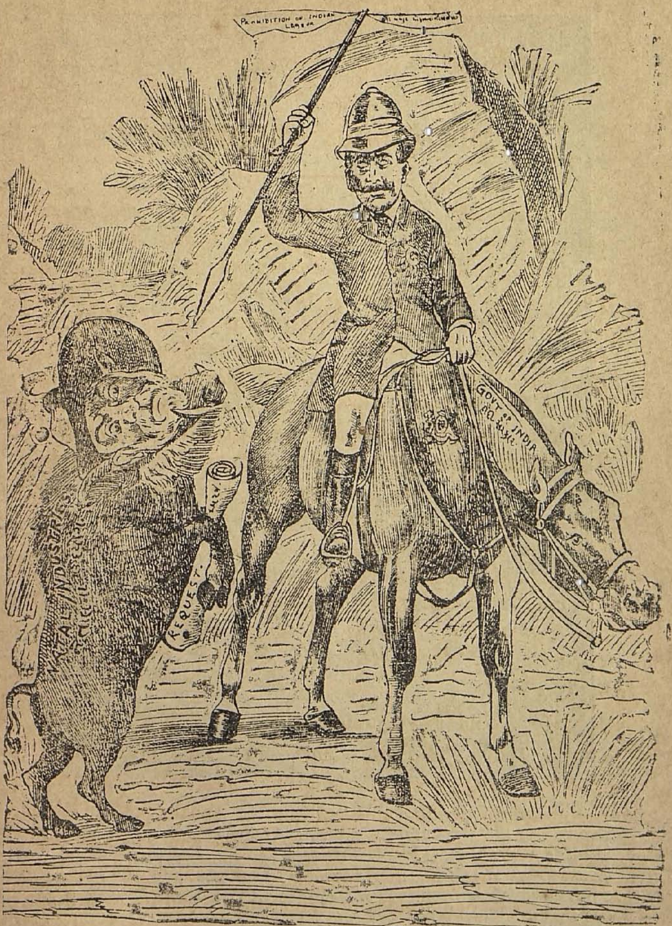
A large crowd of friends waited outside to see Mr. Gandhi come out, but for some unaccountable reason the police took the greatest pains to ensure secrecy, and no one knew how he was taken away.

His counsel visited him later, and, through him, desired it to be stated that he was cheerful and confident, and sent as his message to the strikers the following : "No cessation of the strike without the repeal of the £3 tax. The Government, having imprisoned me, can gracefully make a declaration regarding the repeal."

THE SOLOMON COMMISSION.

While Mr. Gandhi and his compatriots were suffering in jail, his countrymen in India under the guidance of Mr. Gokhale continued to render all possible assistance to keep up the firm attitude of the South African Indians. Money was raised in thousands for the help of the distressed in South Africa. And in December 1913 Lord Hardinge's famous speech in Madras opened the eyes of the Imperial Govt. to the iniquities of the situation created by the Union Government. Soon after a Royal Commission to enquire into the condition of Indians in South Africa was appointed. In view of the forthcoming Commission's enquiry Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues were released from prison. At a meeting held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Association Mr. Gandhi sketched the future programme in the following speech. Mr. Gandhi said :—

He would have preferred to speak first in one of the Indian tongues, but in the presence of Messrs. Polak and Kallenbach, his fellow-convicts, feelings of gratitude compelled him to speak first in the tongue they knew. They would notice he had changed his dress from that he had formerly adopted for the last 20 years, and he had decided on the change when he heard of the shooting of their fellow-countrymen. No matter whether the shooting was found to be justified or not, the fact was that they were shot, and those bullets shot him (Mr. Gandhi) through the heart also. He felt how glorious it would have been if one of those bullets had struck him



PIG-STICKING

The announcement of the Government of India to put into force the Act prohibiting the supply of indentured labour to Natal, caused perturbation among the employers of labour there who entered an energetic protest against the decision of the Government.

LORD HARDINGE

Recently your compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands, by organising what is called passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious and unjust, an opinion which we, who watch their struggles from afar cannot but share. They have violated, as they intended to violate, those laws, with full knowledge of the penalties involved, and ready with all courage and patience to endure those penalties. In all this they have the sympathy of India—deep and burning—and not only of India, but of all those who, like myself, without being Indians themselves, have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country. (Speech at Madras, December, 1913).

also, because might he not be a murderer himself, by having participated in that event by having advised Indians to strike? His conscience cleared him from this guilt of murder, but he felt he should adopt mourning for those Indians as a humble example to his fellow-countrymen. He felt that he should go into mourning at least for a period, which should be co-extensive with the end of that struggle, and that he should accept some mourning not only inwardly, but outwardly as well, as a humble example to his fellow-countrymen, so that he could tell them that it was necessary for them to show by their conduct and outward appearance that they were in mourning. He was not prepared himself to accept the European mourning dress for this purpose, and, with some modification in deference to the feelings of his European friends, he had adopted the dress similar to that of an indentured Indian. He asked his fellow-countrymen to adopt some sign of mourning to show to the world that they were mourning and further to adopt some inward observance also. And perhaps he might tell them what his inward mourning was—to restrict himself to one meal a day. They had been released, he continued, not on any condition, but they knew that they were released on the recommendation of a Commission appointed by the Government, in order that every facility might be given not only to them, but to the Indian community, to bring before the Commission any evidence that community might have in its possession. He thought it a right and proper thing that the Government had appointed a Commission, but he thought the Commission was open to the gravest objection from the Indian standpoint; and he was there to tender his humble advice to them that it was impossible to accept the Commission in a form in which the Indians had

no voice. They were fighting for so many grievances, and the underlying spirit of the struggle was to obtain full recognition on the part of the Government of the right of consultation in anything which appertained to Indian interests. Unless the Government was prepared to condescend to that extent, unless they were prepared to ascertain and respect the Indian sentiments, it was not possible for Indians, as loyal but manly citizens of the Empire to render obedience to their commissions or laws which they might have passed over their heads. This was one of the serious fundamental objection. The other objection was that it was a partisan Commission'; therefore the Indians wanted their own partisans on it. This they might not get, but they at least wanted impartial men, who had not expressed opinions hostile to their interests, but gentlemen who would be able to bring to the deliberations of the Commission an open, just, and impartial mind. (Applause.) He considered that Mr. Esslen and Mr. Wylie, honourable gentlemen as they were could not possibly bring open minds to bear on the inquiry, for the simple reason that they had their own human limitations and could not divest themselves of their anti-Asiatic views which they had expressed times without number. If the Government appointed the Indians' nominees, and thus honoured their sentiments, and granted a release for the prisoners now in gaol, he thought it would be possible for them to assist the Government, and therefore the Empire, and bring, perhaps, this crisis to an end without further suffering. But it might be that they might have to undergo further suffering. It might be that their sins were so great that they might have to do still further penance. "Therefore I hope you will hold yourselves in readiness," he proceeded, "to respond to the call the Government may

make by declining our just and reasonable requests, and then to again force the pace by again undergoing still greater purifying suffering, until at last the Government may order the military to riddle us also with their bullets. My friends, are you prepared for this? (Voices: "Yes.") Are you prepared to share the fate of those of our countrymen whom the cold stone is resting upon to-day? Are you prepared to do this (Cries of "Yes.") Then if the Government does not grant our request this is the proposition I wish to place before you this morning: That all of us, on the first day of the New Year should be ready again to suffer battle, again to suffer imprisonment and march out. (Applause.) That is the only process of purification and will be a substantial mourning both inwardly and outwardly which will bear justification before our God. That is the advice we give to our free and indentured countrymen—to strike, and even though this may mean death to them, I am sure it will be justified." But if they accepted the quiet life, he went on, not only would the wrath of God descend upon them, but they would incur the disgrace of the whole of that portion of the European world forming the British Empire. (Applause.) He hoped that every man, woman, and grown-up child would hold themselves in readiness to do this. He hoped they would not consider self, that they would not consider their salaries, trades, or even families, their own bodies in the struggle which was to his mind a struggle for human liberty, and therefore a struggle for the religion to which they might respectively belong. It was essentially a religious struggle—(hear, hear)—as any struggle involving assertion and freedom of their conscience must be a religious struggle. He therefore hoped they would hold themselves in readiness to respond to the call and not

listen to the advice of those who wavered, nor listen to those who asked them to wait, or to those who might ask them to refrain from the battle. The struggle was one involving quite a clear issue, and an incredibly simple one. "Do not listen to any one," he concluded, "but obey your own conscience and go forward without thinking. Now is the time for thinking, and having made up your minds stick to it, even unto death." (Applause.)

A TRUCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

The following letter from Mr. Gandhi to the Government places on record the agreement arrived at as a result of a series of interviews with the Minister at Pretoria. It was dated Pretoria, Jan. 21, 1914:—

Before leaving for Phœnix, I venture to express my thanks to General Smuts for the patient and kind interviews that he has been pleased to grant me during this time of overwhelming pressure. My countrymen will remember with gratitude his great consideration.

"I understand that the Minister is unable to accept (with regard to the Indian Inquiry Commission) either (1) my suggestion that a member representing Indian interests should be co-opted when questions of policy are inquired into, or (2) my suggestion that a second Commission, with Indian representation, should be appointed to deal with those questions only, the present Commission in that case becoming purely judicial. I submitted a third proposal also, which, in view of the Government's decision, I need not state here. Had any of my suggestions been viewed favourably by the Government, it would have been possible for my countrymen to assist the labours of the Com-

mission. But with regard to leading evidence before this Commission, which has a political as well as a judicial character, they have conscientious scraples, and these have taken with them a solemn and religious form. I may state briefly that these scruples were based on the strong feeling that the Indian community should have been either consulted or represented where questions of policy were concerned.

"The Minister, I observe, appreciates these scruples, and regards them as honourable, but is unable to alter his decision. As, however, by granting me the recent interviews, he has been pleased to accept the principle of consultation, it enables me to advise my countrymen not to hamper the labours of the Commission by any active propaganda, and not to render the position of the Government difficult by reviving passive resistance, pending the result of the Commission and the introduction of legislation during the forthcoming session.

"If I am right in my interpretation of the Government's attitude on the principle of consultation it would be further possible for us to assist Sir Benjamin Robertson, whom the Viceroy, with gracious forethought, has deputed to give evidence before the Commission.

"A word is here necessary on the question of allegations as to ill-treatment during the progress of the Indian strike in Natal. For the reasons above stated, the avenue of proving them through the Commission is closed to us. I am personally unwilling to challenge libel proceedings by publishing the authentic evidence in our possession, and would far rather refrain altogether from raking up old sores. I beg to assure the Minister that, as passive resisters, we endeavour to avoid, as far as possible, any resentment of personal wrongs. But,

in order that our silence may not be mistaken, may I ask the Minister to recognise our motive and reciprocate by not leading evidence of a negative character before the Commission on the allegations in question?

"Suspension of passive resistance, moreover, carries with it a prayer for the release of the passive resistance prisoners now undergoing imprisonment, either in the ordinary gaols or the mine compounds, which might have been declared as such.

"Finally, it might not be out of place here to recapitulate the points on which relief has been sought. They are as follow:

"(1) Repeal of the £3 tax in such a manner that the Indians relieved will occupy virtually the same status as the indentured Indians discharged under the Natal Law 25 of 1891.

"(2) The marriage question.

(These two are the points, as I have verbally submitted, which require fresh legislation.)

"(3) The Cape entry question. (This requires only administrative relief subject to the clear safeguards explained to the Minister.)

"(4) The Orange Free State question. (This requires merely a verbal alteration in the assurance already given.)

"(5) An assurance that the existing laws especially affecting Indians will be administered justly, with due regard to vested rights.

"I venture to suggest that Nos. 3, 4, and 5 present no special difficulty, and that the needful relief may be now given on these points as an earnest of the good intentions of the Government regarding the resident Indian population.

"If the Minister, as I trust and hope, views my submission with favour, I shall be prepared to advise my countrymen in accordance with the tenour of this letter."

THE SETTLEMENT.

The passing of the Indian Relief Act in July 1914 in the Union Houses of Parliament brought a sigh of relief to the whole Indian population both in South Africa and in India. The abolition of the £3 tax, the legislation on the marriage question and the removal of the racial bar were distinctly to the advantage of the Indians and on the lines recommended by the Commission. But there were certain other administrative matters which were not included in the Relief Bill but which were of equal importance to constitute a complete settlement. Mr. Gandhi submitted a list of reforms in the desired direction which General Smuts discussed in a letter addressed to Mr. Gandhi under date, 30th June. On the same day Mr. Gandhi sent the following reply:—

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of even date herewith setting forth the substance of the interview that General Smuts was pleased, notwithstanding many other pressing calls upon his time, to grant me on Saturday last. I feel deeply grateful for the patience and courtesy which the Minister showed during the discussion of the several points submitted by me.

The passing of the Indians' Relief Bill and this correspondence finally closed the Passive Resistance struggle which commenced in the September of 1906 and which to the Indian community cost much physical suffering and pecuniary loss and to the Government much anxious thought and consideration.

As the Minister is aware, some of my countrymen have wished me to go further. They are dissatisfied that the trade licenses laws of the different Provinces, the Transvaal Gold Law, the Transvaal Townships Act, the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885, have not been altered so as to give them full rights of residence, trade and ownership of

land. Some of them are dissatisfied that full inter-provincial migration is not permitted, and some are dissatisfied that on the marriage question the Relief Bill goes no further than it does. They have asked me that all the above matters might be included in the Passive Resistance struggle. I have been unable to comply with their wishes. Whilst, therefore, they have not been included in the programme of Passive Resistance, it will not be denied that some day or other these matters will require further and sympathetic consideration by the Government. Complete satisfaction cannot be expected until full civic rights have been conceded to the resident Indian population.

I have told my countrymen that they will have to exercise patience and by all honourable means at their disposal educate public opinion so as to enable the Government of the day to go further than the present correspondence does. I shall hope that when the Europeans of South Africa fully appreciate the fact that now, as the importation of indentured labour from India is prohibited and as the Immigrants' Regulation Act of last year has in practice all but stopped further free Indian immigration and that my countrymen do not aspire to any political ambition, they, the Europeans, will see the justice and indeed the necessity of my countrymen being granted the rights I have just referred to.

Meanwhile, if the generous spirit that the Government have applied to the treatment of the problem during the past few months continues to be applied, as promised in your letter, in the administration of the existing laws, I am quite certain that the Indian community throughout the Union will be able to enjoy some measure of peace and never be a source of trouble to the Government.

FAREWELL SPEECH AT DURBAN.

On the eve of their departure from South Africa Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi were the recipients of innumerable addresses from every class of South African residents, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees and Europeans. Mr. Gandhi replied to each one of these touching addresses in suitable terms.

On Wednesday the 8th July 1914, Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi were entertained at a great gathering of Indian and European residents at the Town Hall, Durban, which was presided over by the Mayor (Mr. W. Holmes). Telegrams were read from the Bishop of Natal, Gen. Botha, Messrs. Smuts, Merriman, Burton, Hoskin and others. The Mayor and several speakers eulogised the services of Mr. Gandhi.

Referring to the addresses which had been presented to him, he said that, while he valued them, he valued more the love and sympathy which the addresses had expressed. He did not know that he would be able to make adequate compensation. He did not deserve all the praise bestowed upon him. Nor did his wife claim to deserve all that had been said of her. Many an Indian woman had done greater service during the struggle than Mrs. Gandhi. He thanked the community on behalf of Mr. Kallenbach, who was another brother to him, for the addresses presented. The community had done well in recognising Mr. Kallenbach's worth. Mr. Kallenbach would tell them that he came to the struggle to gain. He considered that, by taking up their cause, he gained a great deal in the truest sense. Mr. Kallenbach had done splendid work during the strike at Newcastle and, when the time came, he cheerfully went to prison, again thinking

that he was the gainer and not the loser. Proceeding Mr. Gandhi referred to the time of his arrival in 1897 when his friend Mr. Laughton had stood by him against the mob. He also remembered with gratefulness the action of Mrs. Alexander, the wife of the late Superintendent of Police in Durban, who protected him with her umbrella from the missiles thrown by the excited crowd. Referring to Passive Resistance, he claimed that it was a weapon of the purest type. It was not the weapon of the weak. It needed, in his opinion, far greater courage to be a Passive Resister than a physical resister. It was the courage of a Jesus, a Daniel, a Cranmer, a Latimer and a Ridley who could go calmly to suffering and death, and the courage of a Tolstoy who dared to defy the Czars of Russia, that stood out as the greatest. Mr. Gandhi said he knew the Mayor had received some telegrams stating that the Indians' Relief Bill was not satisfactory. It would be a singular thing if in this world they would be able to get anything that satisfied everybody, but in the condition of things in South Africa at the present time he was certain they could not have had a better measure. "I do not claim the credit for it," Mr. Gandhi remarked. "It is rather due to the women and young people like Nagappan, Narayansamy, and Valliamah who have died for the cause and to those who quickened the conscience of South Africa. Our thanks are due also to the Union Government. General Botha showed the greatest statesmanship when he said his Government would stand or fall by this measure. I followed the whole of that historic debate —historic to me, historic to my countrymen, and possibly historic to South Africa and the world." Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said that it was well known to them how the Government had done justice, and how the Oppo-

sition had come to their assistance. They had also received handsome help from both the Imperial and Indian Governments, backed by that generous Viceroy, Lord Hardinge. (Cheers.) The manner in which India, led by their great and distinguished countryman, Mr. Gokhale, had responded to the cry which came from the hearts of thousands of their countrymen in South Africa, was one of the results of the Passive Resistance movement, and left, he hoped, no bitter traces or bitter memories. (Applause.) "This assurance," continued Mr. Gandhi, "I wish to give. I go away with no ill-will against a single European. I have received many hard knocks in my life, but here I admit that I have received those most precious gifts from Europeans—love and sympathy." (Cheers.) This settlement, he said, had been achieved after an eight years' struggle. The Indians in South Africa had never aspired to any political ambition, and as regarded the social question, that could never arise in connection with the Indians, "I do not hold for one moment," Mr. Gandhi exclaimed, "that East and West cannot combine. I think the day is coming when East must meet West, or West meet East, but I think the social evolution of the West to-day lies in one channel, and that of the Indian in another channel. The Indians have no wish to-day to encroach on the social institutions of the European in South Africa. (Cheers.) Most Indians are natural traders. There are bound to be trade jealousies and those various things that come from competition. I have never been able to find a solution of this most difficult problem, which will require the broad-mindedness and spirit of justice of the Government of South Africa to hold the balance between conflicting interests." Referring to his stay in South Africa, Mr. Gandhi said that he should retain the most

sacred memories of this land. He had been fortunate in forming the happiest and most lasting friendships with both Europeans and Indians. He was now returning to India—a holy land, sanctified by the austerities of the ages. In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi hoped that the same love and sympathy which had been given to him in South Africa might be extended to him, no matter in what part of the world he might be. He hoped that the settlement embodied in the Indians' Relief Bill would be carried out in a spirit of broad-mindedness and justice in the administration of the laws lately passed in connection with the affairs of the Indian community. "Then," added Mr. Gandhi, "I think there will be no fear on the part of my countrymen in their social evolution. That is one of the lessons of the settlement."

ADDRESS TO THE INDENTURED INDIANS.

The following speech is the text of Mr. Gandhi's address to Indentured Indians at Verulam on the 12th July 1914 (reported by the "Natal Mercury" correspondent) :—

Please understand, my indentured countrymen, that it is wrong for you to consider that relief has been obtained because I or you have gone to gaol, but because you had the courage to give up your life and sacrifice yourselves and in this instance I have also to tell you that many causes led to this result. I have to specially refer to the valuable assistance rendered by the Hon. Senator Marshall Campbell. I think that your thanks and my thanks are due to him for his work in the Senate while the Bill was passing through it. The relief is of this nature: The £ 3 tax you will not have to pay, and arrears will be remitted. It does not mean that you are free from your present indentures. You are bound to go through your present indentures faithfully and honestly, but when these finish you are just as free as any other free Indian under Act 25, 1891, and can receive the same protection as set forth in that Act. You are not bound to re-indenture or return to India. Discharge certificates will be issued to you free of charge. If you want to go to India and return therefrom you must first spend three years in Natal as free Indians. If you, being poor, want assistance to enable you to go to India, you can get it on application to the Government; but in that case you would not be allowed to return. If you want to return fight shy of this assistance, and use your own money or borrow from your friends. If you re-

indenture you come under the same law—namely, 25 of 1891. My advice to you is: Do not re-indenture, but by all means serve your present masters under the common law of the country. Now, in the event of any occasion arising (which I hope it will not do), you will know what is necessary. * * * * *

Victoria County has not been as free from violence as the Newcastle district was. You retaliated. I do not care whether it was under provocation or not but you retaliated, and have used sticks and stones, and you have burnt sugar-cane. That is not passive resistance. If I had been in your midst I would have repudiated you, and allowed rather my own head to be broken than allow a single stick or stone to be used. Passive resistance is a more powerful weapon than all the sticks, stones, and gunpowder in the world. If imposed upon you must suffer even unto death. That is passive resistance. If, therefore, I was an indentured Indian working for the Hon. Mr. Marshall Campbell, Mr. Saunders or other employer, and if I found my treatment not just, I would not go to the Protector—I would go to my master and ask for justice; and if he would not grant it I would say that I would remain there without food or drink until it was granted. I am quite sure that the stoniest heart will be melted by passive resistance. Let this sink deeply into yourselves. This is a sovereign and most effective remedy.* * *

I shall now say my farewell to Verulam and you all. The scene before me will not fade in my memory, be the distance ever so great. May God help you all in your trouble. May your own conduct be such that God may find it possible to help you.

FAREWELL SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG.

At Johannesburg Mr. Gandhi was the recipient of numerous addresses, from Hindus, Parsees, Mahomedans, Europeans and other important communities. Indeed every class of people, and every important association presented a separate address. Mr. Gandhi made a touching reply to them:

Johannesburg was not a new place to him. He saw many friendly faces there, many who had worked with him in many struggles in Johannesburg. He had gone through much in life. A great deal of depression and sorrow had been his lot, but he had also learnt during all those years to love Johannesburg even though it was a Mining Camp. It was in Johannesburg that he had found his most precious friends. It was in Johannesburg that the foundation for the great struggle of Passive Resistance was laid in the September of 1906. It was in Johannesburg that he had found a friend, a guide, and a biographer in the late Mr. Doke. It was in Johannesburg that he had found in Mrs. Doke a loving sister, who had nursed him back to life when he had been assaulted by a countryman who had misunderstood his mission and who misunderstood what he had done. It was in Johannesburg that he had found a Kallenbach, a Polak, a Miss Schlesin, and many another who had always helped him and had always cheered him and his countrymen. Johannesburg, therefore, had the holiest associations of all the holy associations that Mrs. Gandhi and he would carry back to India, and, as he had already said on many another platform, South Africa, next to India, would be the holiest land to him and to Mrs. Gandhi

and to his children, for, in spite of all the bitternesses, it had given them those life-long companions. It was in Johannesburg again that the European Committee had been formed, when Indians were going through the darkest stage in their history, presided over then, as it still was, by Mr. Hosken. It was last, but not least, Johannesburg that had given Valiamma, that young girl, whose picture rose before him even as he spoke, who had died in the cause of truth. Simple-minded in faith—she had not the knowledge that he had, she did not know what Passive Resistance was, she did not know what it was the community would gain, but she was simply taken up with unbounded enthusiasm for her people—went to goal, came out of it a wreck, and within a few days died. It was Johannesburg again that produced a Nagappan and Naryanasamy, two lovely youths hardly out of their teens, who also died. But both Mrs. Gandhi and he stood living before them. He and Mrs. Gandhi had worked in the lime-light; those others had worked behind the scenes, not knowing where they were going, except this that what they were doing was right and proper, and, if any praise was due anywhere at all, it was due to those three who died. They had had the name of Harbatsingh given to them. He (the speaker) had had the privilege of serving imprisonment with him. Harbatsingh was 75 years old. He was an ex-indentured Indian, and when he (the speaker) asked him why he had come there, that he had gone there to seek his grave, the brave man replied, "What does it matter? I know what you are fighting for. You have not to pay the £3 tax, but my fellow ex-indentured Indians have to pay that tax, and what more glorious death could I meet?" He had met that death in the goal

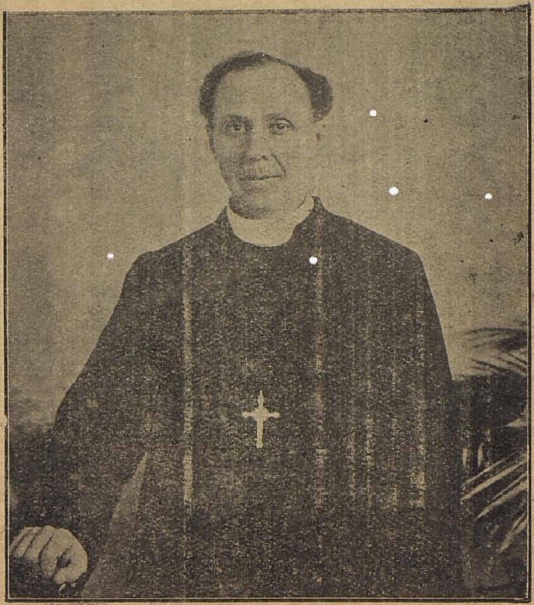
MRS SHEIK MEHTAB

[A Mahomedan Indian Woman Passive Resister, who suffered imprisonment.

HANIFA BIBI

(Mrs. Shaikh Mehtab's Mother) who suffered three months' imprisonment as a Passive Resister,

G. K. GOKHALE IN SOUTH AFRICA



THE BISHOP OF MADRAS

at Durban. No wonder if Passive Resistance had fired and quickened the conscience of South Africa!

But, proceeded Mr. Gandhi, he concurred with Mr. Duncan in an article he wrote some years ago, when he truly analysed the struggle, and said that behind that struggle for concrete rights lay the great spirit which asked for an abstract principle, and the fight which was undertaken in 1906, although it was a fight against a particular law, was a fight undertaken in order to combat the spirit that was seen about to overshadow the whole of South Africa, and to undermine the glorious British Constitution, of which the Chairman had spoken so loftily that evening, and about which he (the speaker) shared his views. It was his knowledge, right or wrong, of the British Constitution which bound him to the Empire. Tear that Constitution to shreds and his loyalty also would be torn to shreds. Keep that Constitution intact, and they held him bound a slave to that Constitution. He had felt that the choice lay for himself and his fellow-countrymen between two courses, when this spirit was brooding over South Africa, either to sunder themselves from the British Constitution, or to fight in order that the ideals of that Constitution might be preserved—but only the ideals. Lord Ampthill had said, in a preface to Mr. Doke's book, that the theory of the British Constitution must be preserved at any cost if the British Empire was to be saved from the mistakes that all the previous Empires had made. Practice might bend to the temporary aberration through which local circumstances might compel them to pass, it might bend before unreasoning or unreasonable prejudice, but theory once recognised could never be departed from, and this principle must be maintained at any cost. And it was that spirit which had been acknowledg-

ed now by the Union Government, and acknowledged how nobly and loftily. The words that General Smuts so often emphasised still rang in his ears. He had said, "Gandhi, this time we want no misunderstanding, we want no mental or other reservations, let all the cards be on the table, and I want you tell me wherever you think that a particular passage or word does not read in accordance with your own reading," and it was so. That was the spirit in which he approached the negotiations. When he remembered General Smuts of a few years ago, when he told Lord Crewe that South Africa would not depart from its policy of racial distinction, that it was bound to retain that distinction, and that, therefore, the sting that lay in this Immigration Law would not be removed, many a friend, including Lord Ampthill, asked whether they could not for the time being suspend their activity. He had said "No." If they did that it would undermine his loyalty, and even though he might be the only person he would still fight on. Lord Ampthill had congratulated him, and that great nobleman had never deserted the cause even when it was as its lowest ebb, and they saw the result that day. They had not by any means to congratulate themselves on a victory gained. There was no question of a victory gained, but the question of the establishment of the principle that, so far as the Union of South Africa at least was concerned, its legislation would never contain the racial taint, would never contain the colour disability. The practice would certainly be different. There was the Immigration Law—it recognised no racial distinctions, but in practice they had arranged, they had given a promise, that there should be no undue influx from India as to immigration. That was a concession to present prejudice. Whether it was right or wrong was not for him to discuss

then. But it was the establishment of the principle which had made the struggle so important in the British Empire, and the establishment of that principle which had made those sufferings perfectly justifiable and perfectly honourable, and he thought that, when they considered the struggle from that standpoint, it was a perfectly dignified thing for any gathering to congratulate itself upon such a vindication of the principles of the British Constitution. One word of caution he wished to utter regarding the settlement. The settlement was honourable to both parties. He did not think there was any room left for misunderstanding, but whilst it was final in the sense that it closed the great struggle, it was not final in the sense that it gave to Indians all that they were entitled to. There was still the Gold Law which had many a sting in it. There was still the Licensing Laws throughout the Union, which also contained many a sting. There was still a matter which the Colonial-born Indians especially could not understand or appreciate, namely, the water-tight compartments in which they had to live; whilst there was absolutely free inter-communication and inter-migration between the Provinces for Europeans, Indians had to be cooped up in their respective Provinces. Then there was undue restraint on their trading activity. There was the prohibition as to holding landed property in the Transvaal, which was degrading, and all these things took Indians into all kinds of undesirable channels. These restrictions would have to be removed. But for that, he thought, sufficient patience would have to be exercised. Time was now at their disposal, and how wonderfully the tone had been changed! And here he had been told in Capetown, and he believed it implicitly, the spirit of Mr. Andrews had pervaded all those statesmen and leading

men whom he saw. He came and went away after a brief period, but he certainly fired those whom he saw with a sense of their duty to the Empire of which they were members. But, in any case, to whatever circumstances that healthy tone was due, it had not escaped him. He had seen it amongst European friends whom he met at Capetown; he had seen it more fully in Durban, and this time it had been his privilege to meet many Europeans who were perfect strangers even on board the train, who had come smilingly forward to congratulate him on what they had called a great victory. Everywhere he had noticed that healthy tone. He asked European friends to continue that activity, either through the European Committee or through other channels, and to give his fellow-countrymen their help and extend that fellow-feeling to them also, so that they might be able to work out their own salvation.

To his countrymen he would say that they should wait and nurse the settlement, which he considered was all that they could possibly and reasonably have expected, and that they would now live to see, with the co-operation of their European friends, that what was promised was fulfilled, that the administration of the existing laws was just, and that vested rights were respected in the administration; that after they had nursed these things, if they cultivated European public opinion, making it possible for the Government of the day to grant a restoration of the other rights of which they had been deprived, he did not think that there need be any fear about the future. He thought that, with mutual co-operation, with mutual good-will, with due response on the part of either party, the Indian community need never be a source of weakness to that Government or to any Government. On the contrary

he had full faith in his countrymen that, if they were well-treated, they would always rise to the occasion and help the Government of the day. If they had insisted on their rights on many an occasion, he hoped that the European friends who were there would remember that they had also discharged the responsibilities which had faced them.

And now it was time for him to close his remarks and say a few words of farewell only. He did not know how he could express those words. The best years of his life had been passed in South Africa. India, as his distinguished countryman, Mr. Gokhale, had reminded him, had become a strange land to him. South Africa he knew, but not India. He did not know what impelled him to go to India, but he did know that the parting from them all, the parting from the European friends who had helped him through thick and thin, was a heavy blow, and one he was least able to bear, yet he knew he had to part from them. He could only say farewell and ask them to give him their blessing, to pray for them that their heads might not be turned by the praise they had received, that they might still know how to do their duty to the best of their ability, that they might still learn that first, second, and last should be the approbation of their own conscience, and that then whatever might be due to them would follow in its own time.—*From "The Souvenir of the Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa."*

FAREWELL TO SOUTH AFRICA.

Just before leaving South Africa, Mr. Gandhi handed to Reuter's Agent at Capetown the following letter addressed to the Indian and European public of South Africa.

I would like on the eve of my departure for India to say a few words to my countrymen in South Africa, and also to the European community. The kindness with which both European and Indian friends have overwhelmed me sends me to India a debtor to them. It is a debt I shall endeavour to repay by rendering in India what services I am capable of rendering there ; and if in speaking about the South African Indian question I am obliged to refer to the injustices which my countrymen have received and may hereafter receive, I promise that I shall never wilfully exaggerate, and shall state the truth and nothing but the truth.

A word about the settlement, and what it means. In my humble opinion it is the Magna Charta of our liberty in this land. I give it the historic name, not because it gives us rights which we have never enjoyed and which are in themselves new or striking, but because it has come to us after eight years' strenuous suffering, that has involved the loss of material possessions and of precious lives. I call it our Magna Charta because it marks a change in the policy of the Government towards us and establishes our right not only to be consulted in matters affecting us, but to have our reasonable wishes respected. It moreover confirms the theory of the British Constitution that there should be no legal racial inequality between different sub-

jects of the Crown, no matter how much practice may vary according to local circumstance. Above all the settlement may well be called our Magna Charta, because it has vindicated Passive Resistance as a lawful clean weapon, and has given in Passive Resistance a new strength to the community; and I consider it an infinitely superior force to that of the vote, which history shows has often been turned against the voters themselves.

The settlement finally disposes of all the points that were the subject matter of Passive Resistance, and in doing so it breathes the spirit of justice and fair play. If the same spirit guides the administration of the existing laws my countrymen will have comparative peace, and South Africa will hear little of the Indian problem in an acute form.

Some of my countrymen have protested against it. The number of these protestants is numerically very small, and in influence not of great importance. They do not object to what has been granted, but they object that it is not enough. It is impossible, therefore, to withhold sympathy from them. I have had an opportunity of speaking to them, and I have endeavoured to show to them that if we had asked for anything more it would have been a breach of submission made on behalf of the British Indians in a letter addressed to the Government by Mr. Cachalia during the latter part of last year and we should have laid ourselves open to the charge of making new demands.

But I have also assured them that the present settlement does not preclude them from agitation (as has been made clear in my letter to the Secretary of the Interior of the 16th ultimo) for the removal of other disabilities which the community will still suffer from under the Gold

Law, the Townships Act, the Law 3 of 1885 of the Transvaal and the Trade Licences Laws of Natal and the Cape. The promise made by General Smuts to administer the existing law justly and with due regard to vested rights gives the community breathing-time, but these laws are in themselves defective, and can be, as they have been, turned into engines of oppression and instruments by indirect means to drive the resident Indian population from South Africa. The concession to popular prejudice in that we have reconciled ourselves to almost the total prohibition by administrative methods of a fresh influx of Indian immigrants, and to the deprivation of all political power, is, in my opinion, the utmost that could be reasonably expected from us. These two things being assured, I venture to submit that we are entitled to full rights of trade, inter-provincial migration, and ownership of landed property being restored in the not distant future. I leave South Africa in the hope that the healthy tone that pervades the European community in South Africa to-day will continue, and that it will enable Europeans to recognise the inherent justice of our submission. To my countrymen I have at various meetings that I have addressed during the past fortnight, attended in several cases by thousands, said, "Nurse the settlement; see to it that the promises made are being carried out. Attend to development and progress from within. Zealously remove all causes which we may have given for the rise and growth of anti-Indian prejudice or agitation, and patiently cultivate and inform European opinion so as to enable the Government of the day and legislature to restore to us our rights." It is by mutual co-operation and goodwill that the solution of the balance of the pressing disabilities which were not made points for Passive Resistance may be obtained in the

natural course, and without trouble or agitation in an acute form.

The presence of a large indentured and ex-indentured Indian population in Natal is a grave problem. Compulsory repatriation is a physical and political impossibility, voluntary repatriation by way of granting free passages and similar inducements will not—as my experience teaches me—be availed of to any appreciable extent. The only real and effective remedy for the great State to adopt is to face responsibility fairly and squarely, to do away with the remnant of the system of indenture, and to level up this part of the population and make use of it for the general welfare of the Union. Men and women who can effectively strike in large bodies, who can for a common purpose suffer untold hardships, who can, undisciplined though they are, be martyrs for days without police supervision and yet avoid doing any damage to property or person, and who can in times of need serve their King faithfully and capably, as the ambulance corps raised at the time of the late war (and which had among other classes of Indians nearly 1,500 indentured Indians) bore witness, are surely people who will, if given ordinary opportunities in life, form an honourable part of any nation.

If any class of persons, have special claim to be considered, it is these indentured Indians and their children, to whom South Africa has become either a land of adoption or of birth. They did not enter the Union as ordinary free immigrants, but they came upon invitation, and indeed even after much coaxing, by agents of South African employers of this class of labour. In this letter I have endeavoured as accurately and as fairly as is in my power to set forth the Indian situation, and the extraordinary courtesy, kindness and sympathy that have been shown to me during th

past month by so many European friends. The frankness and generosity with which General Smuts, in interview, that he was pleased to grant me, approached the questions at issue, and the importance that so many distinguished members of both Houses of Parliament attached to the Imperial aspect of the problem, give me ample reason for believing that my countrymen who have made South Africa their homes will receive a fairly full measure of justice and will be enabled to remain in the Union with self-respect and dignity.

Finally, in bidding good-bye to South Africa, I would like to apologise to so many friends on whom I have not been able, through extreme pressure of work, to call personally. I once more state that though I have received many a hard knock in my long stay in this country, it has been my good fortune to receive much personal kindness and consideration from hundreds of European friends, well-wishers and sympathisers. I have formed the closest friendships, which will last for ever, for this reason and for many similar reasons, which I would love to reduce to writing but for fear of trespassing unduly open the courtesy of the press. This sub-continent has become to me a sacred and dear land, next only to my motherland. I leave the shores of South Africa with a heavy heart, and the distance that will now separate me from South Africa will but draw me closer to it, and its welfare will always be a matter of great concern, and the love bestowed upon me by my countrymen and the generous forbearance and kindness extended to me by the Europeans will ever remain a most cherished treasure in my memory.

Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi left South Africa for London in July 1914. On their arrival in England they were welcomed at a great Gathering of British and Indian friends and admirers at the Hotel Cecil on August 8. Letters of apology were received from the Prime Minister, the Marquis of Crewe, Earl Roberts, Lords Gladstone, Curzon, Lamington, Ampthill, Harris, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. The Reception was arranged by the Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali and others who spoke on the occasion:

Mr. Gandhi, in returning thanks, referred to the great crisis which at the moment overshadowed the world. He hoped his young friends would "think Imperially" in the best sense of the word, and do their duty. With regard to affairs in South Africa, Mr. Gandhi paid a noble tribute to the devotion of his followers. It was to the rank and file that their victory was due. Those who had suffered and died in the struggle were the real heroes.* * Mr. Gandhi regarded the settlement as the Magna Charta of the South Africa British Indians, not because of the substance but because of the spirit which brought it about. There had been a change in the attitude of the people of South Africa and the settlement had been sealed by the sufferings of the Indian community. It had proved that if Indians were in earnest they were irresistible. There had been no compromise in principles. Some grievances remained unredressed but these were capable of adjustment by pressure from Downing Street, Simla and from South Africa itself. The future rested with themselves. If they proved worthy of better conditions, they would get them.

When England joined the war Mr. Gandhi organised the Indian Field Ambulance Corps with the help of leading Indians in England notably H. H. the Aga Khan. Soon after Mr. Gandhi fell ill and he was nursed back to health by the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Roberts. Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi were again entertained at a Farewell Reception at the West Minster Palace Hotel, prior to their departure for India. Among those who took part in the function were Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Charles Roberts, Sir K. G. Gupta. A letter of apology was read from Sir William Wedderburn. Mr. Gandhi said in the course of his reply :

His wife and himself were returning to the motherland with their work unaccomplished and with broken health, but he wished nevertheless, to use the language of hope.. * * He had himself pleaded hard with Mr. Roberts that some place should be found for him; but his health had not permitted and the doctors had been obdurate. He had not resigned from the corps. If in his own motherland he should be restored to strength, and hostilities were still continuing, he intended to come back, directly the summons reached him. (Cheers). As for his work in South Africa, they had been purely a matter of duty and carried no merit with them and his only aspiration on his return to his motherland was to do his duty as he found it day by day. He had been practically an exile for 25 years and his friend and master, Mr. Gokhale had warned him not to speak of Indian questions, as India was a foreign land to him. (Laughter) But the India of his imagination was an India unrivalled in the world, an India where the most spiritual treasures were to be found, and it was his dream and hope that the connection between India and England might be a source of spiritual comfort and uplifting to the whole world.

Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi arrived at Bombay on the 9th January 1915. They were entertained on arrival at a great public Reception over which Sir Pherozshah Mehta presided. Replying to the toast Mr. Gandhi said in the course of his speech :—

In what he had done, he had done nothing beyond his duty and it remained to be seen how far he had succeeded in doing his duty. That was not a mere lip expression but he asked them to believe sincerely that these were his feelings.

They had also honoured Mrs. Gandhi as the wife of the great Gandhi. He had no knowledge of the great Gandhi but he could say that she could tell them more about the sufferings of women who rushed with babies to the jail and who had now joined the majority, than he could.

In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi appealed to them to accept the services of himself and his wife for, he said, they had come to render such service as God would enable them to do so. They had not come to receive big entertainments like that because they did not think they were worthy of such presents. He felt they would only spoil them if ever by such action a thought crossed their minds that they had done some thing to deserve such a big *tamasha* made in their honour. He however, thanked them on behalf of his wife and himself most sincerely for the great honour done to them that afternoon and he hoped to receive the whole country in their endeavour to serve the Motherland. Hitherto, he said, they had known nothing of his failures. All the news that they had received related to his successes. Here they would now see them in the naked light, and would see their faults, and anticipating such faults and failures, he asked them to overlook them, and with that appeal, he said, they as humble servants would commence the service of their country.

RECEPTION IN MADRAS.

In reply to the welcome address read by Mr. G.A. Natesan on behalf of the Indian South African League, at a meeting at the Victoria Public Hall, Madras, on the 21st April, 1915 with Dr. Sir Subramania Iyer in the Chair, Mr. Gandhi said:—

Mr. Chairman and Friends,—On behalf of my wife and myself I am deeply grateful for the great honour that you here in Madras, and, may I say, this Presidency, have done to us and the affection that has been lavished upon us in this great and enlightened—Not Benighted—Presidency.

If there is anything that we have deserved, as has been stated in this beautiful address, I can only say I lay it at the feet of my Master under whose inspiration I have been working all this time under exile in South Africa. (*Hear, hear.*) In so far as the sentiments expressed in this address are merely prophetic, Sir, I accept them as a blessing and as a prayer from you and from this great meeting that both my wife and I myself may possess the power, the inclination, and the life to dedicate whatever we may develop in this sacred land of ours to the service of the Motherland. (*Cheers.*) It is no wonder that we have come to Madras. As my friend, Mr. Natesan, will perhaps tell you, we have been overdue and we have neglected Madras. But we have done nothing of the kind. We knew that we had a corner in your hearts and we knew that you will not misjudge us if we did not hasten to Madras before going to the other presidencies and to other towns. * * * * But, Sir, if one-tenth of the language that has been used in this address is deserved by us, what language do you propose to use for those who have lost their lives, and therefore finished their work on

behalf of your suffering countrymen in South Africa? What language do you propose to use for Nagappan and Narayanasawmy, lads of seventeen or eighteen years, who braved in simple faith all the trials, all the sufferings, and all the indignities for the sake of the honour of the Motherland (*Cheers*) What language do you propose to use with reference to Villiamma, that sweet girl of seventeen years who was discharged from Maritzburg prison, skin and bone suffering from fever to which she succumbed after about a month's time (*Cries of shame*).

It was the Madrassis who of all the Indians were singled out by the great Divinity that rules over us for this great work. Do you know that in the great city of Johannesburg, the Madrassis look on a Madrassi as dishonoured if he has not passed through the jails once or twice during this terrible crisis that your countrymen in South Africa went through during these eight long years? You have said that I inspired these great men and women, but I cannot accept that proposition. It was they, the simple-minded folk, who worked away in faith, never expecting the slightest reward, who inspired me, who kept me to the proper level, and who inspired me by their great sacrifice, by their great faith, by their great trust in the great God, to do the work that I was able to do. (*Cheers.*) It is my misfortune that my wife and I have been obliged to work in the lime-light,and you have magnified out of all proportion (*cries of 'No ! no!'*) this little work we have been able to do. Believe me, my dear friends, that if you consider, whether in India or in South Africa, it is possible for us, poor mortals—the same individuals, the same stuff of which you are made—if you consider that it is possible for us to do anything whatsoever without your assistance and without your doing the same

thing that we would be prepared to do, you are lost, and we are also lost, and our services will be in vain, I do not for one moment believe that the inspiration was given by us. The inspiration was given by them to us, and we were able to be interpreters between the powers who called themselves the Governors and those men for whom redress was so necessary. We were simply links between those two parties and nothing more. It was my duty, having received the education that was given to me by my parents to interpret what was going on in our midst to those simple folk, and they rose to the occasion. They realised the might of religious force, and it was they who inspired us, and let them who have finished their work, and who have died for you and me, let them inspire you and us. We are still living, and who knows whether the devil will not possess us to-morrow and we shall not forsake the post of duty before any new danger that may face us. But these three have gone for ever.

An old man of 75 from the United Provinces, Harbart Singh, has also joined the majority and died in jail in South Africa; and he deserved the crown that you would seek to impose upon us. These young men deserve all the adjectives that you have so affectionately, but blindly lavished upon us. It was not only the Hindus who struggled, but there were Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians, and almost every part of India was represented in the struggle. They realised the common danger, and they realised also what their destiny was as Indians, and it was they, and they alone, who matched the soul-force against the physical forces. (*Loud applause.*)

NARAYANSAMY

who was deported to India as a Passive Resister and who died at Delagoa Bay after being hunted by the Govt., from Port to Port in South Africa.

HARBATSINGH

A very old Hindustani stalwart who died in the Durban gaol as a Passive Resister.

MR. AND MRS. GANDHI AND MR. G. A. NATESAN.

THE INDAIN SOUTH AFRICAN LEAGUE.

At the General Meeting of the Indian South African League, held at the premises of Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, on Friday, May 7, 1915, with Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayana Iyah in the Chair, Mr. G. A Natesan, one of the Joint Secretaries, presented a statement of accounts of the League and wound up by urging that the balance of the League's Fund might be handed over to Mr. Gandhi who had undertaken to look after the interests of the South Africa returned Indians and their dependents. The Resolution was unanimously passed. Mr. Gandhi in the course of his reply made a brief statement and said:—

The passive resistance struggle started with the Asiatic struggle in the Transvaal in 1906. As it went on stage after stage, it, owing to the exigencies of the case and as a matter of course, expanded and embraced the following further points, *viz*, (1) the removal of racial disability in the Immigration Legislation of the Union of South Africa; (2) the restoration of the status of Indian wives whether married in accordance with Hindu or Mahomedan religious rites as it originally existed before what was known in South Africa as the Searle Judgment; (3) repeal of the annual £3 tax which was payable by every ex-indentured Indian, his wife and his children—male and female—males after reaching 16 years, females after reaching 12, if they decided to settle in the province of Natal as freemen; (4) just administration of existing laws specially affecting British Indians with due regard to vested rights. All these points were completely gained

under the settlement of last year, and they have been embodied so far as legislation was necessary in what was known as the Indian Relief Act and otherwise in the correspondence that took place between General Smuts and himself immediately after the passing of the Act referred to. Such being the case and as the Indian South African League was formed solely for the purpose of assisting the struggle, it could well dissolve itself. Mr. Gandhi referred also to the administration of the funds that were sent to him from India and other parts of the Empire. He said that, at every stage of the struggle, a complete statement of income and expenditure was published.

Mr. Gandhi then informed the meeting that there were nearly 30 passive resisters including their families in India who were to be supported. These included the widows and children of the two men who were shot in the course of the struggle. He, therefore, suggested that the small balance which was still with the Indian South African League might well be devoted to their assistance. Mr. Gandhi desired to take the opportunity to express the thanks of the South African Indians for the great and valuable assistance it had rendered to them during the most critical times of the struggle. He was not going to mention any names, but he felt it his duty to convey in person as the interpreter of the wishes of many Transvaal deportees, who were in Madras in 1909, of their heartfelt thanks to Mr. Natesan for the devotion which he displayed in looking after their interest during their exile in India. He was glad he was able to convey in person his grateful thanks to the chairman and the members of the League for the moral and material support they had rendered to their cause.

INDIANS IN THE COLONIES.

RECIPROCITY BETWEEN INDIA AND THE DOMINIONS.

At the Madras Provincial Conference held at Nellore in June, 1915, Mr. G. A. Natesan moved a resolution thanking Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi for the invaluable services they had rendered to the Motherland by their heroic struggle in South Africa. Mr. Gandhi, in acknowledging the thanks of the Conference, spoke as follows :—

In so far as sentiment enters into the claims of India, with regard to the status of Indians in the Empire, it seems possible that by a measure of reciprocal treatment as between India and the Dominions this difficulty could be surmounted. Given an outlet for Indian emigrants in East Africa, it ought not to be beyond the powers of statesmanship to arrange that India should have the power to exclude white men of the working class, just as the Dominions exclude Indians. Or rather it might be arranged that the number of Indians to be admitted to any one of the white States of the Empire should bear a relative proportion to the white population of the State. As a matter of fact, if the proportion agreed on is to avoid the necessity for removing some of the Asiatics now in the Dominions, it will have to be something like twice as great as the number of the whites in India in relation to the total population. The existing white community in India, inclusive of troops, bears the proportion

of about 1 : 2,000 of the native population. In Canada there are now about 3,000 Indians in a total population of 8,000,000. A ratio 1 : 1,000 as suggested would, therefore, permit the Indian colony in Canada to be increased by about 5,000. In Australia there are rather more than 5,000 Indians, and under 5,000,000 white men at present, but the excess over the 1 : 1,000 ratio is trifling. In New Zealand, where there are about 1 : 250 Indians, this ratio is almost exactly conformed to by the existing situation. South Africa presents a difficulty since the South African Indians already exceed a proportion of one to ten of the white residents. But South Africa differs from its sister Dominions, since it is the only one which has a native population of more than negligible size. The Indian section of the composite racial problem—presented by the Union—might perhaps be adjusted somewhat by offering inducements to South African Indians to transfer themselves to East Africa. The conferring of full political rights on the small Indian communities domiciled in the Dominions would then be the only step necessary to meet every legitimate aspiration of Indians for equality of treatment and the recognition of their claims as British subjects.

INDIAN AND EUROPEAN EMIGRANTS.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, in moving the Resolution on India and the Colonies at the Bombay Congress of 1915, *said* :—

Mr. President and Friends,—the Resolution that stands in my name reads thus :—

"The Congress regrets that the existing laws affecting Indians in South Africa and Canada have not, in spite of the liberal and imperialistic declarations of Colonial statesmen, been justly and equitably administered, and this Congress trusts that the Self-Governing Colonies will extend to the Indian emigrants equal rights with European emigrants and that the Imperial Government will use all possible means to secure the rights which have been hitherto unjustly withheld from them, thus causing widespread dissatisfaction and discontent."

Friends,—It is an irony of fate that whilst this vast assembly will be regretting the hostile attitude that has been adopted by the Self-Governing Colonies, a Contingent of your countrymen formed in South Africa will be nearing the theatre of war in order to help the sick and the wounded, and I am in possession of facts in connection with this Contingent formed in South Africa which shows that it is composed of the middle classes which, in accordance with the *Times of India*, are going to form the future self-governing nation. Those men are drawn from ex-indentured Indians and their children, from the petty hawkers, the toilers, the traders, and yet the Colonies do not consider it necessary to alter their attitudes nor do I see the logic in alter-

ing their policy. It is the fashion now-a-days to consider that because our humble share in not being disloyal to the Government at the present juncture, we are entitled to the rights which have been hitherto withheld from us, as if those rights were withheld because our loyalty was suspected. No, my friends, if they have been withheld from us, the reasons are different and those reasons will have to be altered. They are due, some of them to undying prejudices, to economic causes and these will have to be examined ; but prejudice will have to be cut down. And what are the hardships that our countrymen are labouring under in South Africa, in Canada, and the other Self-Governing Colonies ? In South Africa the Settlement of 1914 secures what the passive resisters were fighting for and nothing more, and they were fighting for the restoration of legal equality in connection with emigrants from British India and nothing more.

That legal equality has been restored, but the domestic troubles till remain and if it was not the custom unfortunately inherited for the last forty years that the predominent language in this assembly should be English, our Madras friends will have taken good care to have learnt one of the northern vernaculars, and then there are men enough in South Africa who would tell you about the difficulties that we have to go through even now in South Africa in connection with holding landed property, in connection with men who having been once domiciled in South Africa, return to South Africa, their difficulties in connection with the admission of their children, their difficulties in connection with holding licenses of trade. These are, if I may so call them, bread and butter difficulties. There are other difficulties which I shall not enumerate just now. In Canada, it is not possible for those members of the

Sikhs who are domiciled there to bring their wives and their childern. (*Cries of 'shame, shame.'*) The law is the same but administration is widely unequal, so unequal that they cannot bring their wives and children, and the law or the administration still remains the same in spite of declarations about justice and what not, in view of the hostilities and in view of the splendid aid which India is said to have rendered to the Empire. How are these difficulties to be met. I do not intend to go into details, but the Congress proposes that this difficulty can be met by an appeal to the sense of justice of the Colonial statesmen and by an appeal to the Imperial Government. I fear that the Congress can only do this, but the Resolution so far as it goes in one respect is inadequate to the occasion. Lord Hardinge, only a few months ago, made a fervent appeal to Indian publicists and to Indian public statesmen for helping him to an honourable solution which will retain the dignity of India, at the same time, not because of any trouble to the Self-Governing Colonies. Lord Hardinge is still waiting for an answer, that answer is not supplied by the Congress, nor can it be by the Congress; it is to be supplied by an association of the specialists, if I may so call them. The Congress has given them the lead, and it is for these associations to frame the details in which they will have to examine the rival claims and to offer to Lord Hardinge a solution which shall be saturated with details, a solution which will satisfy the Colonial Governments as well as the Indian people and will not take away anything whatsoever from the just demands that this Resolution makes. With these words I have much pleasure in proposing this Resolution.

INDENTURED LABOUR.

The following is a pronouncement made by Mr. Gandhi during the strenuous agitation made throughout India in the early part of 1917 *for the complete abolition of Indenture :—*

There is no doubt that we are engaged in a severe struggle for the preservation of our honour, and that, if we do not take care, the promise made by Lord Hardinge, that indentured labour should soon be a thing of the past may be reduced to a nullity. The Viceregal pronouncement just made seems to set at rest one fear, that the system may be prolonged for a further period of five years, which, as Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar showed at Poona, would, in reality, mean ten years. We are thankful to Lord Chelmsford for his assurance. And we are thankful, too, to that good Englishman, Mr. C. F. Andrews, for the lead that he gave us in the matter. So soon as he gained the information from Fiji that five years' extension was taken by the planters of those islands as a settled fact, he forsook his sick-bed and his rest at Shanti Niketan, and sounded for us the call of duty.

But if one cloud, that threatened to destroy our hopes, seems to have disappeared, another equally dangerous looms on the horizon. The conditions of abolition, as stated by Lord Hardinge last March, are these :—

"On behalf of His Majesty's Government, he (the Secretary of State) has asked us, however, to make it clear that the existing system of recruiting must be maintained until new conditions, under which labour should be permitted to proceed to the Colonies, should have been worked out in conjunction with the Colonial Office and the Crown Colonies concerned; until proper safeguards in the Colonies should have

been provided; and until they should have had reasonable time to adjust themselves to the change, a period which must necessarily depend on circumstances and conditions imperfectly known at present."

Those of us who know anything of the system knew that it was well-nigh impossible to find new conditions which would be economically sound for the planters, and morally sound for us. We felt that the Government would soon find this out for themselves, and that, in view of Lord Hardinge's whole-hearted disapproval of the system, his view of the nearness of the end would coincide with our own. But now a different situation faces us. Nearly a year has gone by, and we discover that the planters of Fiji have been led to believe that they will have five years more of the system, and at the end of it new conditions may after all be a change in name but not in substance. Let Mr. Bonar Law's despatch speak for itself. Writing under date March 4, 1916, to the Acting Governor of Fiji, he says :—

" The Secretary of State for India is satisfied that it would not be possible for the Government of India to continue to defeat by a bare official majority resolutions in their Legislative Council, urging the abolition of indenture; that in his opinion, the strong and universal feeling in India on this subject makes it a question of urgency: and that he has accepted the conclusion that indentured emigration must be abolished."

He then proceeds :—

" Though, from the point of view of the Colonies concerned, the decision which the Indian Government and the Secretary of State for India have taken is to be regretted, I recognise that the final decision upon this question must rest with the Indian Government,"

Thus the humanities of the question are tacitly supposed to be no concern of the Colonies.

Now mark this significant paragraph, culled from the same illuminating despatch :—

" I have, therefore, agreed to the appointment of an inter-departmental committee to consider what system should be

substituted for the system of indenture should be allowed for a further period of five years, and should cease at the end of that period. . . The Secretary of State for India is anxious that the change of system should be brought about with as little disturbance as possible to the economic interests of the Colonies, and that he has made it clear that the existing system must be maintained until a properly safeguarded system has been devised."

Mr. Andrews has been twitted for having referred to the five years' extension. Let his critics explain away Mr. Bonar Law's emphatic pronouncement published in the Fiji newspapers. What with this official statement and the Secretary of State for India's solicitude for the economic interests of the planters, our cause may easily be lost, if we are found unwatchful.

In the light of the Viceregal speech and Mr. Bonar Law's despatch, our duty seems to be clear. We must strengthen the Government's hands where necessary, and even stimulate their activity, so that this inter-departmental committee is not allowed to frustrate our hopes. It is a body wherein the influence of the Crown Colonies and the Colonial Office will be preponderant. It is a body which has to find a substitute which would be acceptable to us. As I hold, it will be a vain search, if the moral well-being of the labourer is to be the primary consideration. But, if the planters can have their own way, we know that they will urge an impossible substitute, and, in the event of its rejection by us, they will, in accordance with Mr. Bonar Law's despatch, claim continuance of recruiting under indenture. It must, therefore, be clearly understood that the onus of producing an acceptable substitute rests with them and not with us. They have had more than a year already. Lord Hardinge's despatch, urging total abolition, is dated the 15th October, 1915. The committee is to sit in May next. This period for finding a

substitute is long enough, in all conscience. Either Mr. Andrews' harrowing picture of the conditions of life in Fiji is true or it is untrue. We believe it to be true, and it has never been seriously attacked. And in waiting for over a year, we shall have waited almost beyond the point of endurance. Substitute or no substitute, we are entitled, for the sake of our motherhood, for the sake of our own honour and reputation, and, indeed, that of the Empire, to the unconditional abolition of this last remnant of slavery. Natal stopped the system without the provision of a substitute. Mauritius has done likewise. The Johannesburg mines survived not only the shock of an abrupt termination of Chinese labour, but the withdrawal of every Chinese labourer from the country as fast as transport could be got ready.

Capital is both bold and timid. If only we shall do our duty, if only the Government of India will steel their hearts against the blandishments of the Fijian and West Indian planters, there is, no doubt, that these people will know how to save their millions, without India's having to go to their rescue.

INDIAN COLONIAL EMIGRATION.

The following is the full text of an article published in the "Indian Review," for September 1917 :

I have carefully read the resolution issued at Simla by the Government of India on the 1st instant, embodying the report of the Inter-Departmental Conference recently held in London. It will be remembered that this was the conference referred to in the Viceregal speech of last year at the opening of the sessions of the Viceregal Legislative Council. It will be remembered, too, that this was the Conference which Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha were to have attended but were unable to attend owing to their having returned to India before the date of the meeting of the Conference. It is stated in the report under discussion that these gentlemen were to discuss the question of emigration to certain English Colonies informally with the two Secretaries of State, *i. e.*, the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Lord Islington, Sir A. Steel Maitland, and Messrs. Seton, Grindle, Green and Macnaughton constituted the Conference. To take the wording of the Resolution, this Conference sat "to consider the proposals for a new assisted system of emigration to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji." The public should, therefore, note that this assisted emigration is to be confined only to the four Crown Colonies mentioned and not to the Self-Governing Colonies of South Africa, Canada or Australia, or the Crown Colony of Mauritius. What follows will show the importance of this distinction.

It is something to be thankful for that "the Government of India have not yet considered the report and reserved judgment on all the points raised in it." This is as it should be on a matter so serious as this and one which only last year fairly convulsed the whole of India and which has in one shape or another agitated the country since 1895.

The declaration too that "His Majesty's Government in agreement with the Government of India have decided that indentured emigration shall not be re-opened" is welcome as is also the one that "no free emigrants can be introduced into any Colony until all Indian emigrants already there have been released from existing indentures."

In spite, however, of so much in the report that fills one with gladness, the substantive part of it which sets forth the scheme which is to replace indentured emigration is, so far as one can judge, to say the least of it, disappointing. Stripped of all the phraseology under which the scheme has been veiled, it is nothing less than a system of indentured emigration, no doubt on a more humane basis and safeguarded with some conditions beneficial to the emigrants taking advantage of it.

The main point that should be borne in mind is that the Conference sat designedly to consider a scheme of emigration not in the interests of the Indian labourer, but in those of the Colonial employer. The new system, therefore, is devised to help the Colonies concerned. India needs no outlet, at any rate for the present moment, for emigration outside the country. It is debateable whether, in any event, the four Colonies will be the most suitable for Indian colonisation. The best thing, therefore, that can happen from an Indian standpoint is that there should be no assisted emigration from India of any type whatso-

ever. In the absence of any such assistance, emigration will have to be entirely free and at the risk and expense of the emigrant himself. Past experience shows that, in that event, there will be very little voluntary emigration to distant Colonies. In the report assisted emigration means, to use a mild expression, stimulated emigration; and surely with the industries of India crying out for labour and with her legitimate resources yet undeveloped, it is madness to think of providing a stimulus for the stay-at-home Indian to go out of India. Neither the Government nor any voluntary agency has been found capable of protecting from ill-usage the Indian who emigrates either to Burma or Ceylon, much less can any such protection avail in far-off Fiji or the three other Colonies. I hope that leaders of public opinion in India will, therefore, take their stand on the one impregnable rock of not wanting any emigration whatsoever to the Colonies. It might be argued that we, as a component part of the Empire, are bound to consider the wants of our partners, but this would not be a fair plea to advance so long as India stands in need of all the labour she can produce. If, therefore, India does not assist the Colonies, it is not because of want of will but it is due to want of ability. An additional reason a politician would be justified in using is that, so long as India does not in reality occupy the position of an equal partner with the Colonies, and so long as her sons continue to be regarded by Englishmen in the Colonies and English employers even nearer home to be fit only as hewers of wood and drawers of water, no scheme of emigration to the Colonies can be morally advantageous to Indian emigrants. If the badge of inferiority is always to be worn by them, they can never rise to their full status and any material advantage they will

gain by emigrating can, therefore, be of no consideration.

But let us for the moment consider the new system. "The system," it is stated, "to be followed in future will be one of aided emigration and its object will be to encourage the settlement of Indians in certain Colonies after a probationary period of employment in those Colonies, to train and fit them for life and work there and at the same time, to acquire a supply of the labour essential to the well-being of the colonists themselves." So the re-settlement is to be conditional on previous employment under contract and it will be seen in the course of our examination that this contract is to be just as binding as the contracts used to be under indenture. The report has the following humourous passage in it: "He will be, in no way, restricted to service under any particular employer except that for his own protection, a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months." This has a flavour of the old indentured system. One of the evils complained of about that system was that the labourer was assigned to an employer. He was not free to choose one himself. Under the new system, the employer is to be selected for the protection of the labourer. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that the would-be labourer will never be able to feel the protection devised for him. The labourer is further "to be encouraged to work for his first three years in agricultural industries, by the offer, should he do so, of numerous and important benefits subsequently as a colonist." This is another inducement to indenture, and I know enough of such schemes to be able to assure both the Government and public that these so-called inducements in the hands of clever manipulators become nothing short of methods of compulsion in respect of innocent and ignorant Indian labourers. It is due to the

framers of the scheme that I should draw attention to the fact that they have avoided all criminal penalties for breach of contract. In India itself if the scheme is adopted, we are promised a revival of the much-dreaded depots and emigration Agents, all no doubt, on a more respectable basis but still of the same type and capable of untold mischief.

The rest of the report is not likely to interest the public, but those who wish to study it will, I doubt not, come to the conclusion to which I have been driven, that the framers have done their best to strip the old system of many of the abuses which had crept into it, but they have not succeeded in placing before the Indian public an acceptable scheme. I hold that it was an impossible task. The system of indenture was one of temporary slavery; it was incapable of being amended; it should only be ended and it is to be hoped that India will never consent to its revival in any shape or form.

THE INIQUITIES OF THE INDENTURE SYSTEM

Under the auspices of the District Congress Committees in Bombay Mr. M. K. Gandhi delivered a lecture on Indentured Indian Labour before a large gathering on 30th Oct. 1917 *at the Empire Theatre, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah presiding.*

Mr. Gandhi said:—

The question of indentured labour was just now a topical question, because those true and real friends of India, Messrs. Andrews and Pearson, were conducting an enquiry in Fiji. The Fiji Islands absorbed the largest number of indentured Indians at the present moment. Messrs. Andrews and Pearson were not the first to interest the Indians in this question, but it was the deceased statesman Mr. Gokhale, who first impressed Indians with the importance of their duties in connection with this question. The resolution which Mr. Gokhale brought before the Council for the abolition of the Indenture system was defeated by a majority though all the non-official members of the Council voted for the abolition. However much a benign and sympathetic Viceroy wished to remove this abominable system of indenture from the Indian Statute Book there was a very serious difficulty in his way and that was the report by the two Commissioners, who were sent by Lord Hardinge, namely, Messrs. MacNeill and Chimanlal which are contained in two bulky volumes. All might not care to wade through the rather dull pages of those volumes but to him who knew what real indentured labour was they were of great interest. They might, however, take upon trust that the report recognised that in-

dentured labour should continue just as it was, if certain conditions were fulfilled. Those conditions, Mr. Gandhi said were impossible of fulfilment. And the recommendations which these two great Commissioners made, showed that they really could not seriously have meant that the system of indenture which existed to-day in Fiji, Jamaica Guiana and other colonies should be continued a minute longer than was actually necessary. The speaker here referred to the previous commision and said that the defects which Messrs. MacNeill and Chimanlal had pointed out were patent to all. Their report contained nothing new. But there was unofficial investigation on behalf of some philanthropic body in England some forty years ago, and in that book an unvarnished tale was given, which told in graphic language what were the hardships under that system.

In this connection Mr. Gandhi quoted a statement made by the Prime Minister of Natal in which he said that the system of indenture was a most unadvisable thing and that the sooner it was terminated the better for the indentured labourer and the employer. Lord Selborne said the same thing when he was the High Commissioner in South Africa: he said that it was worse for the employer than the employed, because it was a system perilously near to slavery. Sir William Hunter wrote a beautiful series of letters in 1895 when he first brought himself to study the system personally and compared the system of indenture, after a due investigation, to a state bordering on slavery. On one occasion he used the expression semi-slavery. Mr. Gandhi said if he erred in making these statements, he erred in Lord Selborne's company. And it was in connection with this system that these two worthy gentlemen, the Commissioners, had seen

fit to report and advise the fulfilment of certain conditions which in the very nature of the contract were impossible of fulfilment. The conditions were that unsuitable emigrants be excluded; the proportion of females to males to be raised from 40 to 50 per cent. The speaker could not understand what they meant by unsuitable emigrants being excluded. The Commissioners themselves told them that it was not easy to find labour in India. India was not pining to send her children out as semi-slaves. Lord Sanderson stated that it was the surplus population from India that went out from dissatisfaction with the economic condition in India. But they must remember that there were 500 recruiting licences issued in the year 1907. Could they conceive the significance of the extraordinary state of things which required one recruiter to 17 labourers? The Colonial Governments had their sub-agents in India for this indentured labour to be collected. They were paid a sum of Rs. 25 for each cooly recruited, and this sum of Rs. 25 was divided between the recruiter and the sub-agent. Mr. Gandhi thought the mental state of those recruiters must be miserable, who could send so many of their countrymen as semi-slaves. After having seen what the recruiting agents did and after having read the many gross misstatements they made, he was not surprised that thousands and thousands of their countrymen were becoming indentured labourers. The Commissioners devoted several pages to the immorality prevailing on the estates. It was not forty women for sixty men; but the statement was made that these men did not marry these women, but kept them and that many of these women were prostitutes. Mr. Gandhi said he would decline to send his children under such an indenture, if he was worthy of his salt, out of the

country. But thousands of men and women had gone. What did they think of that in India.

The conditions were that rigorous provisions should be either expunged from the Ordinances or that the Protector should control employers. As for the regulations made to protect these labourers they could take it from him, Mr. Gandhi said, that there were a great many flaws in them and a coach and four could be easily driven through these. The aim of the rules was to make the employer supreme. Here was capital ranged against labour with artificial props for capital and not labour.

Mr. Gandhi condemned the " protector" of emigrants. They were men belonging to that very class to which employers belonged ; they moved among them and was it not only natural that they should have their sympathies on the side of the employer ? How was it then possible that they could do justice to the labourer against the employer? He knew many instances when magistrates had meted out justice to the indentured labourer, but it was impossible to expect such a thing from the Protectors of emigrants. The labourer was bound hand and foot to the employer. If he committed an offence against his employer he first of all had to undergo, a course of imprisonment; then the days that the labourer had spent in the jail were added to his indenture and he was taken back to his master to serve again. The Commissioners had to say nothing against these rules. There was nobody to judge the Protector of Emigrants if he gave a wrong judgment, but in the case of the magistrate he could be criticised. Again the Commissioners and that these prisoners should be put into separate jails. But the Colonial Government would be bankrupt if they built jails for hundreds of prisoners that were imprisoned. They were not able to build jails for the passive resisters. Then the

Commissioners said that the labourer, should be allowed to redeem his indenture by payment of a graduated redemption fee. They made a mistake in thinking him to be an independent man. He was not his own master. Mr. Gandhi said he had known of English girls well educated who were decoyed, and who were not indentured, unable to free themselves. How was it then possible for an indentured labourer to do this ? Mr. Balfour compared the labourer under an indenture to a soldier. But the soldier was a responsible man and he could rise to a high position. But an indentured labourer remained a labourer. He had no privileges. His wife was also included under his disabilities, so also his son. In Natal the finger of scorn was pointed at these people. Never could an indentured Indian rise to a higher post than that of labourer. And what did the labourer bring when he returned to India ? He returned a broken vessel, with some of the artificial and superficial signs of civilisation, but he left more valuable things behind him. He may bring some sovereigns also with him. They should decline to perpetuate this hateful system of indenture because it robbed them of their national self-respect.

If they could consider well over what he had said they would try and abolish the system in a year's time and this one taint upon the nation would have gone and indentured labour would be a thing of the past. He wanted to remove the cause of the ill-treatment of the Indians in the Colonies. However protected that system may be, it still remained a state bordering upon slavery. "It would remain," said Mr. Gandhi, " a state based upon full-fledged slavery and it was a hinderance to national growth and national dignity."

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS.

In the course of an article criticising the Imperial Conference Resolution on Indian emigration, Mr. Gandhi wrote as follows in the Indian Review for August 1918:—

The Imperial Conference Resolution on the status of our countrymen emigrating to the Colonies reads well on the surface, but it is highly deceptive. We need not consider it a great achievement that we can pass the same laws against the colonials that they may pass against us. It is like a giant telling a dwarf that the latter is free to give blow for blow. Who is to refuse permission and passports to the colonials desiring to enter India? But Indians, no matter what their attainments are are constantly being refused permission to enter the colonies even for temporary periods. South African legislation of emigration was purged of the racial taint, by the passive resistance movement. But the administrative principles still continue and will do so, so long as India remains both in name and substance a dependency.

The agreement arrived at regarding those who are already domiciled practically restates the terms of the settlement of 1914. If it extends to Canada and Australia it is a decided gain, for in Canada till recently there was a big agitation owing to the refusal of its Government to admit the wives and children of its Sikh settlers. I may perhaps add that the South African settlement provides for the protection of those who had plural wives before the settlement, especially if the latter had at any time entered South Africa. It may be the proper thing in a predomi-

nently Christian country to confine the legality to only one wife. But it is necessary even for that country, in the interests of humanity and for the sake of friendship for members of the same Imperial Federation to which they belong administratively, to allow the admission of plural wives and their progeny.

The above agreement still evades the question of inequality of status in other matters:—Thus the difficulty of obtaining licenses throughout South Africa, the prohibition to hold landed property in the Transvaal and the Free State and virtual prohibition within the Union itself of the entry of Indians into the Free State, the prohibition of Indian children to enter the ordinary Government schools, deprivation of Municipal franchise in the Transvaal and the Free State and practical deprivation of the Union franchise throughout South Africa, barring perhaps the Cape. The resolutions of the Imperial Conference therefore are decidedly an eye-wash. There is no change of heart in the colonies and certainly no recognition of Imperial obligations regarding India. The Fijian atrocities to which Mr. Andrews has drawn pointed attention show what is possible even in the Crown colonies which are under direct Imperial Control.

GANDHI'S JAIL EXPERIENCES

I

These prison experiences were originally written by Mr. Gandhi in Gujarati and we are indebted to the "Modern Review" for the following English version :

INSPECTION

When the different inspectors come to inspect, all the prisoners have to post themselves in a row, and take off their caps to salute them. As all of us had English caps, there was no difficulty in observing this rule. It was both legal and proper that we should take off our caps. The words of direction used were "fall in." These words had, so to speak, become our food, as we had to "fall in" four or five times a day. One of these officers, an assistant to the Chief Warder, was a little stiff-necked and so the Indians had nicknamed him, "General Smuts." Generally he was the first to come in the mornings, and again in the evenings. At half past nine the Doctor came. He was very good and kind, and unfailing in his inquiries. Each prisoner had, according to jail rules, to show all parts of his body, on the first day to the Doctor, stripping himself bare of all clothes, but he was kind enough not to enforce the same in our case. When many more Indians had come, he simply told us to report to him if any one had got itches, etc., so that he might examine him in *camera*. At half past ten or eleven, the Governor and Chief Warder came. The former was a firm, just and quiet-natured officer. His invariable inquiries were whether we were all right, whether we wanted anything, whether we had

any complaints to make. Whenever we had any such, he heard them attentively, and gave us relief, if he could. Some of these complaints and grievances I shall refer to later on. His deputy came also at times. He was kind-hearted too. But the best of them all was our Chief Warder. Himself deeply religious, he was not only kind and courteous towards us, but every prisoner sang his praises in no measured terms. He was attentive in preserving to the prisoners all their rights, he overlooked their trivial faults, and knowing in our case that we were all innocent he was particularly kind to us, and to show his kindness he often came and talked to us.

INCREASE IN OUR NUMBERS.

I have said before that there were only five of us passive resisters, at first. On 14th January, Tuesday, came in Mr. Thambi Naidu, the Chief Picket and Mr. Koin, the President of the Chinese Association. We all were pleased to receive them. On the 18th, fourteen others joined us, including Samundar Khan. He was in for two months. The rest were Madrasis, Kunamias and Gujarati Hindus. They were arrested for hawking without licences, and sentenced to pay a fine of £2, and in default to 14 days' imprisonment. They had bravely elected to go to jail. On 21st, 76 others came. In this batch only Nawab Khan had two months, the rest were with a fine of £2, or in default 14 days' imprisonment. Most of them were Gujarati Hindus, some Kunamias and some Madrasis. On the 22nd, 35, on the 23rd, 3, on the 24th, 1, on the 25th, 2, on the 28th, 6, and in the evening 4 more, and on the 29th, 4 Kunamias added to our numbers. So that by the 29th, there were 155 passive resisters incarcerated. On the 30th, I was removed to Pretoria, but I knew that on that day 5 or 6 others had come in.

FOOD

The question of food is of great moment to many of us, in all circumstances, but to those in prison, it is of the greatest importance. They are greatly in need of good food. The rule is that a prisoner has to rest content with jail food, he cannot procure any from outside. The same is the case with a soldier who has to submit to his regulation rations, but the difference between the two is that his friends can send other food to the soldier and he can take it, while a prisoner is prohibited from doing so. So that this prohibition about food is one of the signs of being in prison. Even in general conversation, you will find the jail-officers, saying that there could be no exercise of taste about prison diet, and no such article could be allowed therein. In a talk with the prison medical officer, I told him that it was necessary for us to have some tea, or ghee or some such thing along with bread, and he said, you want to eat with taste, and no palatable thing could be allowed in a prison.

According to the regulations, in the first week, an Indian gets, in the morning 12 oz. of " mealie pap " without sugar or ghee ; at noon, 4 oz. of rice and one oz. of ghee ; in the evening, from 5 days, 12 oz. of mealie pap, for 3 days. 12 oz. of boiled beans and salt. This scale has been modelled on the dietary of the Kaffirs, the only difference being that in the evening, the Kaffirs are given crushed maize corn and lard or fat, while the Indians get rice. In the second week, and thenceforward, for two days, boiled potatoes and for two days, cabbages, or pumpkin or some such vegetable is given along with maize flour. Those who take meat are given meat with vegetables on Sundays.

The first batch of prisoners had resolved to solicit for no favours at the hands of Government, and to take whatever food was served out, if not religiously objectionable. Really speaking the above was not a proper kind of diet for Indians, though medically, of course, it contained sufficient nutrition. Maize is the daily food of the Kaffirs, so this diet suits them, nay, they thrive on it, in jail. But Indians rarely use maize-flour, rice only suits them. We are not used to eat beans alone, nor could we like vegetables as cooked by or for Kaffirs. They never clean the vegetables nor season them with any spices. Again the vegetables cooked for the Kaffirs mostly consist of the peelings left after the same have been prepared for the European convicts. For spices, nothing else besides salt is given. Sugar is never dreamt of. Thus the food question was a very difficult one for us all. Still, as we had determined that the passive resisters were neither to solicit nor ask for favours from the jail authorities, we tried to rest content with this kind of food.

In reply to his inquiries we had told the Governor, that the food did not suit us, but we were determined not to ask for any favours from Government. If Government of its own accord wanted to make a change, it would be welcome, else we would go on taking the regulation diet.

But this determination could not last long. When others joined us, we thought it would be improper to make them share this trouble with us also. Was it not sufficient that they had shared the prison with us? So we began to talk to the Governor on their behalf. We told him, we were prepared to take any kind of food, but the later batches could not do so. He thought over the matter, and said that he would allow them to cook separately, if they put it on the ground of religon but the articles of food

would be the same, it did not rest with him to make any changes in them.

In the meantime, fourteen others had joined us, and some of them elected to starve rather than take mealie pap. So I read the jail rules and found out that applications in such matters should be made to the Director of Prisons. I asked, therefore, the Governor to be permitted to apply to him, and sent a petition accordingly.

We, the undersigned prisoners beg to state that we are all Asiatics, 18 Indians and 3 Chinese.

The 18 Indians get for their breakfast mealie pap, and the others, rice and ghee; they get beans thrice and "pap" four times. We were given potatoes on Saturdays and greens on Sundays. On religious grounds, we cannot eat meat: some are entirely prohibited from taking it, and others cannot do so because of its not being religiously slaughtered.

The Chinese get maize-corn instead of rice. All the prisoners are mostly used to European food, and they also eat bread and other flour preparations. None of us is used to mealie pap, and some of us suffer from indigestion.

Seven of us have eaten no breakfast at all only at times, when the Chinese prisoners who got bread, out of mercy, gave them a piece or two out of their rations, have we eaten the same. When this was mentioned to the Governor, he said we were guilty of a jail offence in thus accepting bread.

In our opinion this kind of food is entirely unsuitable to us. So we have to apply that we should be given food according to the rules for European prisoners and mealie pap be left out entirely; or in the alternative such food should be given as would support us, and be in consonance with our habits and customs.

This is an urgent matter and a reply be sent by wire.

Twenty one of us had signed the petition and while it was being despatched seventy-six more came in. They also had a dislike for the "pap," and so we added a paragraph stating that the new arrivals also objected to the diet. I requested the Governor to send it by wire. He asked his superior's permission by telephone, and allowed at once 4 oz. of bread in place of "pap," We were all very pleased, and from the 22nd., 4 oz. of bread was sub-

stituted in place of pap, morning and evening. In the evening we got 8 oz., *i.e.*, half a loaf. But this was merely a temporary arrangement. A committee was sitting on the question and we heard that they had recommended an allowance of flour, ghee, and pulse; but before it could take effect, we had been released, and so nothing more happened.

In the beginning when there was only eight of us we did not cook ourselves, so we used to get uncooked rice and ill-cooked vegetables whenever the same were given, so we obtained permission to cook for ourselves. On the first day, Mr. Kadva cooked. After that Mr. Thambi Naidu and Mr. Jivan both took up the function, and in our last days they had to cook for about 150 men. They had to cook once only, excepting on vegetable days which were two in a week—when they had to do so twice. Mr. Naidu took great trouble over this. I used to distribute.

From the style of the petition the reader must have noted the fact that it was presented on behalf of all Indian prisoners and not us (eight) alone. We talked with the Governor also on the same lines and he had promised to look into it for all the Asiatic prisoners. We still hope that the jail diet of the Indians would be improved.

Again the three Chinese used to get other articles instead of rice, and hence annoyance was felt, as there was an appearance of their being considered separate from and inferior to us. For this reason, I applied, on their behalf, to the Governor and to Mr. Playford, and it was ordered that they should be placed on the same level as Indians.

It is instructive to compare this dietary with that of the Europeans. They get for their morning breakfast "pap" and 8 oz. of bread; for the midday meal, bread and soup or bread and meat, or bread and meat and potatoes

or vegetables; and in the evenings bread and "pap." Thus they got bread thrice in the day, and so they do not care whether they have the "pap" or not. Again they get meat or soup, in addition. Besides this they are often given tea or cocoa. This will show that both the Europeans and the native Kaffirs get food suitable to them, and it is the poor Indians alone who suffer. They had no special dietary of their own. If they were treated like Europeans in food, they the Europeans would have felt ashamed, and no one had the concern to find out what was the food of the Indian. They had thus to be ranked with the Kaffirs and silently starve. For this state of circumstances I find fault with our own people the Passive Resisters. Some Indians got the requisite food by stealth, others put up with whatever they got, and were either ashamed to make public the story of their distress or had no thought for others. Hence the outside public remained in the dark. If we were to follow truth and agitate where we got injustice, there would be no room to undergo such inconveniences. If we were to leave self and apply ourselves to the good of others, grievances would get remedied soon. But just as it is necessary to take steps for the redress of such complaints, so it is necessary to think of certain other things also. It is but meet for prisoners to undergo certain inconveniences. If there be no trouble, what is the good of being called a prisoner? Those who are the masters of their minds, take pleasure even in suffering, and live happily in jails. They do not lose sight of the existence of the suffering, and they should not do so, considering that there are others also suffering with them.

There is another evil habit of ours, and that is our tenacity in sticking to our manners and customs. We must do in Rome as the Romans do. We are living

in South Africa and we must accustom ourselves to what is considered good food here. "Mealie pap" is a food, as good, simple and cheap as our wheat. We cannot say it is without taste, sometimes, it beats wheat even. It is my belief that out of respect for the country of our adoption, we must take food which grows in that country, if it be not unwholesome. Many "Whites" like this "pap" and eat it in the morning. It becomes palatable if milk or sugar or even ghee be taken with it. For these reasons and for the fact that we might have to go to jail again, in the future, it is advisable for every Indian to accustom himself to this preparation of maize. With this habit even when the time comes to take it merely with salt, we would not find it hard to do so. It is incumbent on us to leave off some of our habits for the good of our country. All those nations that have advanced have given up these things where there was nothing substantial to lose. The Salvation Army people attract the natives of the soil, by adopting their customs, dress, etc., if not particularly objectionable.

SICKNESS

It would have been a miracle had no one out of 150 prisoners fallen ill. The first to be taken ill was Mr. Samundar Khan. He had been brought into jail ailing and was taken to Hospital the next day. Mr. Kadva was a victim to rheumatism, and for some days he did not mind being treated by the Doctor in the prison cell itself, but eventually he had to go to the Hospital too. Two others suffered from fainting fits and were taken there. The reason was that it was very hot then, and the convicts had to remain out in the sun the whole day, and so they fell down in fits. We nursed them as best we could. Later on Mr. Nawab Khan also succumbed, and on the day of

our release he had to be led out by hand. He had improved a little after the Doctor had ordered milk, etc., to be given to him. On the whole, still, it may be safely said, that the Passive Resisters fared well.

PAUCITY ON SPACE.

I have stated already that our cell had space enough to accommodate only fifty-one prisoners, and the same holds good with regard to the area. Later on when instead of 51 there were 151 souls to be accommodated, great difficulty was felt. The Governor had to pitch tents outside, and many had to go there. During our last days, about a hundred had to be taken out to sleep, and back again the morning. The area space was too small for this number, and we could pass our time there with great difficulty. Added to this was our evil inborn habit of spitting everywhere, which rendered the place dirty, and there was the danger of disease breaking out. Fortunately our companions were amenable to advice, and assisted us in keeping the compound clean. Scrupulous care was exercised in inspecting the area and privies, and this saved the inmates from disease. Every one will admit that the Government was at fault in incarcerating such a large number in so narrow a space. If the room was insufficient, It was incumbent on the Government not to send so many there, and if the struggle had been prolonged, it would not have been possible for the Government to commit any more to this prison.

READING

I have already mentioned that the Governor had allowed us the use of a table, with pen, ink, etc. We had the free run of the prison library also. I had taken from there, the works of Carlyle and the Bible. From the Chinese Interpreter, who used to come there, I had bor-

rowed the Kuran-e-Sharif translated into English, Speeches of Huxley, Carlyle's Lives of Burns, Johnson, and Scott, and Bacon's Essays. Of my own I had taken the Bhagavad Gita, with Manilal Nathubhai's Annotations, several Tamil works, an Urdu book from the Moulvi Sahib the writings of Tolstoy, Ruskin and Socrates. Many of these I read or re-read in the jail. I used to study Tamil regularly. In the morning I used to read the Gita and at noon, mostly the Koran. In the evening I taught the Bible to Mr. Foretoon, who was a Chinese Christian. He wanted to learn English, and I taught it to him through the Bible.

If I had been permitted to spend out my full period, I would have been able to complete my translations of a book each of Carlyle and Ruskin. I believe that as I was fully occupied in the study of the above works, I would not have become tired even if I had got more than two months ; not only that but I would have added usefully to my knowledge and studies. I would have passed a happy life, believing as I do that whoever has a taste for reading good books is able to bear loneliness in any place with great ease.

RELIGIOUS STUDY.

In the West, we now see, that as a matter of fact, the State looks after the religion of all its prisoners, and hence, we find a Church in the Johannesburg prison for its inmates, but it is provided to meet only the needs of the Whites, who alone are allowed access thereto. I asked for special permission for Mr. Foretoon and myself, but the Governor told me it was only for White Christian prisoners. Every Sunday, they attend it, and preachers of different denominations give them religious lessons there.

Several missionaries come in to convert the Kaffirs also with special permission. There is no Church for them; they sit in the open. Jews also have got their own preachers to look after them. It is only the Hindus and Mahomedans who are spiritually left unprovided for. There are not many Indian prisoners, it is true, but the absence of any such provision for them is hardly creditable to them. The leaders of both communities should, therefore, lay their heads together, and arrange for the religious instruction of the members of their community in jail, even if there be only one convict. The preachers, whether Hindus or Moulvis, should be pure-hearted, and they should be careful not to become thorns in the sides of the convicts.

THE END.

All that was worth knowing has been stated above. Indians being placed on a level with the Kaffirs is a fact which calls for further consideration. While the White convicts get a bedstead to sleep on, a tooth-brush to clean their teeth, a towel to wipe their faces and hands, and also a handkerchief, Indians get nothing. Why this distinction?

We should never think that this is not a matter for our interference. It is these little things which either enhance our respect or degrade us. An Arabic book says that he who has no self-respect has no religion. Nations have become great by gradually enhancing their self-respect. Self-respect does not mean vanity or rashness, but a state of mind which is prepared not to let go its privileges simply out of fear or idleness. One who has really his trust in God attains to self-respect, and I firmly believe that one who has no trust in Him never knows what is right, nor does he know how to do right.

II

Every prisoner in the jail on getting up in the morning is required to fold his own bedding, and to place it in its proper place. He must finish his toilet by 6 o'clock and be ready to start out at the stroke of the hour. The work begins at 7 o'clock. It is of various kinds. The ground to be dug was very hard. It was to be worked upon with spades, and hence the work proved too hard. Again, it was a very hot day. The place we were taken to was about a mile and a half from the jail. Each one of us started very well indeed. But as one of us was used to this kind of work, it was not long before we were quite done up. As the day advanced, the work seemed harder still. The warder was very strict. He used to cry out every now and then, "go on, go on." This made the Indians quite nervous. I saw some of them weeping. One of them had a swollen foot. All this caused me a great deal of heart-burning, and yet on every occasion, I reminded them of the duty, and asked them to perform it as well as possible, with a good heart, and without minding the words of the warder. I felt myself done up also. My hands were covered with blisters and water was oozing out of them. I could hardly bend the spade and felt the weight of it as if it was quite a maund. I prayed to God to preserve my honour, to maintain my limbs intact, and to bestow on me sufficient strength to be able to perform my allotted task. I trusted to Him and went on with my work. The warder would sometimes remonstrate with me at an occasional break required to get over the fatigue. I told him that it was unnecessary for him to remind me of my duty, and that I was prepared to go through as much of it as was possible for me to do. Just then I saw Mr. Jhinabhai faint. . . . While I was pouring water on Jhinabhai's head, the following occurred to me. Most of the In-

dians trusted my word, and submitted themselves to imprisonment. If the advice that I happened to offer them were erroneous how much sin I would be committing in the eyes of God in tendering it to them. They underwent all sorts of hardships on account of that advice. With this thought in my mind, I heaved a deep sigh. With God as my witness, I reflected on the subject once more, and was immediately reassured that it was all right. I felt that the advice that I tendered to them was the only advice that I could under the circumstances. In anticipation of future happiness, it was absolutely necessary that we should undergo the hardest trials and sufferings in the first instance, and that there was no reason to be grieved at the latter. This was simply a fit of fainting, but even if it was a case of death how could I offer any other advice than what I had already done? It at once occurred to me that it was more honourable for anybody to die suffering in that manner, than to continue living a life of perpetual enslavement.

* * * *

At one time one of the warders came to me, and asked me to provide him with two of his men to clean the water-closets. I thought that I could do nothing better than clean them myself and so I offered him my services. I have no particular dislike to that kind of work. On the contrary, I am of opinion that we ought to get ourselves accustomed to it.

I was given a bed in a ward, where there were principally Kaffir patients. Here I passed the whole night in great misery and terror. I did not know then that I was to be taken the next day to another cell that was occupied by Indian prisoners. Fretting that I would be kept incarcerated with such men, I got very nervous

and terror-stricken. And yet I tried my best to reconcile myself to the idea that it was my duty to undergo the sufferings that may befall me. I read from the "Bhagawad-Gita," that I had with me, certain verses suited to the occasion, and on pondering over them, was soon reconciled to the situation. The chief reason why I got nervous was that in the same room, there were a number of wild, murderous looking, vicious Kaffir and Chinese prisoners. I did not know their language. One of the Kaffirs began to ply me with all sorts of questions. As far as I could gather, he seemed to be mocking me indecently. I did not understand what his questions were and I kept quiet. He then asked me in his broken English, " Why have they brought you here ?". I gave him a very short reply and was again silent. He was followed by one of the Chinamen. He was worse than the other. He approached my bed, and looked at me intently. I kept on my silence. He then proceeded towards the above-mentioned Kaffir's bed. There they began to mock each other indecently, and expose their private parts. Both these prisoners were probably there for murder or highway robbery. How could I enjoy sleep after seeing these deadful things ?

(At one time) as soon as I got seated at the water closet there to answer the call of nature, a very wild and muscular looking Kaffir turned up. He asked me to get off from the seat, and began to abuse me. I told him I would not be long when he took hold of me, and threw me outside. Fortunately, I was able to catch hold of one of the doors, and to save myself from a nasty fall. This did not make me very nervous. I simply walked away with a smiling countenance. But one or two Indian prisoners who happened to see the situation in which I was placed, could not restrain themselves from shedding tears.

III.

When on the 25th February I got three months' hard labour, and once again embraced my brother Indians and my son in the Volksrust Jail, I little thought that I should have had to say much in connection with my third "pilgrimage" to the jail, but with many other human assumptions, this too proved to be false. My experience this time was unique, and what I learnt therefrom I could not have learnt after years of study. I consider these three months invaluable. I saw many vivid pictures of passive resistance, and I have become, therefore, a more confirmed resister than what I was three months ago. For all this, I have to thank the Government of this place (the Transvaal).

Several officers had betted this time that I should not get less than six months. My friends—old and renowned Indians—my own son—had got six months and so I too was wishing that they might win their bets. Still I had my own misgivings, and they proved true. I got only three months, that being the maximum under the law.

After going there, I was glad to meet Messrs. Dawood Muhammad, Rustamji, Sorabji, Pillay, Hajura Sing, Lal Bahadur Sing and other "fighters." Excepting for about ten all others were accommodated in tents, pitched in the jail compound for sleeping, and the scene resembled a camp more than a prison. Every one liked to sleep in the tents.

We were comfortable about our meals. We used to cook ourselves as before, and so could cook as we liked. We were about 77 passive resisters in all.

Those who were taken out for work had rather a hard time of it. The road near the Magistrate's Court had to be built, so they had to dig up stones, etc., and carry them. After that was finished they were asked to

dig up grass from the School Compound. But mostly they did their work cheerfully. For three days I was also thus sent out with the "shans" (gangs) to work, but in the meanwhile a wire was received that I was not to be taken outside to work. I was disheartened at this, as I liked to move out, because it improved my health and exercised my body. Generally I take two meals a day, but in the Volksrust Jail, on account of this exercise I felt hungry thrice. After this turn, I was given the work of a sweeper, but this was useless, and after a time even that was taken away.

WHY I WAS MADE TO LEAVE VOLKSRUST.

On the 2nd of March I heard that I was ordered to be sent to Pretoria. I was asked to be ready at once, and my warder and I had to go to the station in pelting rain, walking on hard roads, with my luggage on my head. We left by the evening train in a third class carriage.

My removal gave rise to various surmises. Some thought that peace was near, others, that after separating me from my companions, Government intended to oppress me more, and some others, that in order to stifle discussion in the House of Commons it might be intended to give me greater liberty and convenience.

I did not like to leave Volksrust, as we passed our days and nights pleasantly there talking to one another. Messrs. Hajura Sing and Joshi always put us questions, questions which were neither useless nor trivial, as they related to science and philosophy. How would one like to leave such company and such a camp ?

But if every thing happened as we wished, we should not be called human beings. So I left the place quietly. Saluting Mr. Kaji on the road, the warder and I got confined in a compartment. It was very cold, and raining

too for the whole night. I had my overcoat with me which I was permitted to use. I was given bread and cheese for my meals on the way, but as I had eaten before I left, I gave them to my warder.

PRETORIA JAIL: THE BEGINNING.

We reached Pretoria on the 3rd, and found everything new. The jail was newly built, and the men were new. I was asked to eat but I had no inclination to do so. Mealie meal porridge was placed before me. I tasted a a spoonful only and then left it untouched. My warder was surprised at it, but I told him I was not hungry, and he smiled. Then I was handed over to another warder. He said, "Gandhi, take off your cap." I did so. Then he asked, "Are you the son of Gandhi?" I said, "No, my son is undergoing six months' imprisonment at Volksrust." He then confined me in a cell. I began to walk forwards and backwards in it. He saw it from the watch-hole in the door, and exclaimed, "Gandhi, don't walk about like that. It spoils my floor." I stopped, and stood in a corner, quietly. I had nothing to read even, as I had not yet got my books. I was confined at about eight, and at ten I was taken to the Doctor. He only asked me if I had any contagious disease, and then allowed me to go. I was then interned in a small room at eleven where I passed my whole time. It seemed to be a cell made for one prisoner only. Its dimensions were about 10 × 7 feet. The floor was of black pitch, which the warder tried to keep shining. There was only one small glass window, barred with iron bars, for light and air. There was electric light kept to examine the inmates at night. It was not meant for the use of the prisoners, as it was not strong enough to enable one to read. When I went and stood very near it, I could read only a large-type book. It is put out at eight, but is

again put on five or six times during the night, to enable the warders to look over the prisoners, through the watch-holes.

After eleven the Deputy-Governor came and I made these requests to him ! for my books, for permission to write a letter to my wife who was ill, and for a small bench to sit on. For the first, he said, he would consider, for the second, I might write, and for the third, no. Afterwards I wrote out my letter in Gujarati and gave it to be posted. He endorsed on it, that I should write it in English. I said, my wife did not know English, and my letters were a great source of a comfort to her, and that I had nothing special to write in them. Still I did not get the permission, and I declined to write in English. My books were given to me in the evening.

My mid-day meal I had to take standing in my cell with closed doors. At three, I asked leave for a bath. The warder said, " All right, but you had better go there after undressing yourself." (The place was 125 feet distant from my cell). I said, if there was no special object in my doing so, I would put my clothes on the curtain there and take my bath. He allowed it, but said, " Do not delay. Even before I had cleaned my body, he shouted out, " Gandhi, have you done ?" I said, " I would do so in a minute." I could rarely see the face of an Indian. In the evening I got a blanket and a coir mat to sleep on but neither pillow nor plank. Even when answering a call of nature, I was being watched by a warder. If he did not happen to know me, he would cry out, " Sam, come out." But Sam had got the bad habit of taking his full times in such a condition, so how could he get up at once ? If he were to do so, he would not be easy. Sometimes the warders and some-

times the Kaffirs would peep in, and at times would sing out, "get up." The labour given to me next day was to polish the floor and the doors. The latter were of varnished iron, and what polish could be brought on them by rubbing? I spent three hours on each door, rubbing, but found them unchanged, the same as before.

FOOD.

The food was in keeping with the above conditions.

. . . . .

I knew that no ghee was given with rice in the evening, and I had thought of remedying the defect. I spoke to the Chief Warder, but he said, ghee was to be given only on Wednesdays and Sunday noons in place of meat, and if its further supply were needed, I should see the Doctor. Next day I applied to see him and I was taken to him.

I requested him to order out for all Indians ghee in place of fat. The Chief Warder was present and he added that Gandhi's request was not proper. Till then many Indians had used both fat and meat, and that those who objected to fat, were given dry rice, which they ate without any objection; that the passive resisters had also done so, and when they were released, they left with added weight. The Doctor asked me what I had to say to that. I replied that I could not quite swallow the story, but speaking for myself, I should spoil my health, if I were compelled to take rice without ghee. Then he said, "for you specially, I would order bread to be given." I said, "thank you, but I had not applied for myself alone, and I would not be able to take bread for myself alone, till ghee was ordered to be given to all others." The Doctor said, "Then you should not find fault with me, now."

I again petitioned and I came to learn that the food

regulations would ultimately be made as in Natal. I criticised that also and gave the reasons why I could not for myself alone accept ghee. At last, when in all about a month and a half had elapsed, I got a reply stating that whereever there were many Indian prisoners, ghee would invariably be given. Thus it might be said that after a month and a half I broke my fast, and for the last month I was able to take rice, ghee and bread, But I took no breakfast and at noon, when pap was doled out. I hardly took ten spoonfuls, as every day it was differently prepared. But still I got good nourishment from the bread and rice, and so my health improved. I say so, because when I used to eat once only, it had broken down, I had lost all strength, and for ten days I was suffering from a severe ache in half of my forehead. My chest too had shewn symptoms of being affected.

I had told many passive resisters that if they left the jail with spoiled health, they would be considered wanting in the right spirit. We must turn our prisons into palaces so that when I found my own health getting ruined I felt apprehensive lest I should have to go out for that reason. It has to be remembered that I had not availed myself of the order for ghee made in my favour, so that there was a chance of my health getting affected, but this does not apply in the case of others, as it is open to each individual prisoner, when he is in jail, to have some special order made in his favour, and thus preserve his health.

OTHER CHANGES.

I have said that my Warder was harsh in his dealings with me. But this did not last long. When he saw that I was fighting with the Government about food, &c., but obeying his orders unreservedly, he changed his conduct, and allowed me to do as I liked. This removed my diffi-

culties about bath, latrine, &c. He became so considerate that he scarcely allowed it to be seen that he *ordered* me to do anything. The man who succeeded him was like a Pasha and he was always anxious to work after my conveniences. He said, "I love those who fight for their community, I myself am such a fighter, and I do not consider you to be a convict." He thus used to comfort me.

Again, the bench which was refused in the beginning was sent to me, by the Chief Warder himself, after some days. In the meanwhile I had received two religious books for reading from General Smuts. From this I concluded that the hardships I had to undergo were due, not to his express orders, but to the carelessness and indifference of himself and others, and also because the Indians were considered to be like Kaffirs. The only object of isolating me appeared to be to prevent my talking with others. After some trouble I got permission for the use of a note-book and pencil.

THE VISIT OF THE DIRECTOR.

Before I was taken to Pretoria, Mr. Lichenstein had seen me with special permission. He had come to see me on office business, but he asked me how I was, &c. I was not willing to answer him on the point, but he pressed me. So I said, "I will not tell you all, but I will say this much, that they treat me cruelly. General Smuts by this means wants me to give in, but that would never be, as I was prepared to undergo whatever befell me, that my mind was at peace, but that you should publish this. After coming out, I myself would do so." He communicated it to Mr. Polak, who not being able to keep it to himself in his turn spoke to others, and Mr. David Polak thereupon wrote to Lord Selborne and an inquiry was held. The Warder came for that purpose, and I spoke to him the very words

set out above. I also pointed out the defects, which I have mentioned in the beginning. Thereupon, after ten days he sent me a plank for bed, a pillow, a night shirt and a handkerchief, which I took. In my memorial to him I had asked him to provide this convenience for all Indians. Really speaking, in this respect Indians are softer than the whites, and they cannot do without pillows.

HANDCUFFS.

The opinion I had come to, in consequence of my treatment in jail in the beginning, was confirmed by what happened now. About four days after I received a witness summons in Mr. Pillay's case. So I was taken to Court. I was manacled this time, and the Warder took no time in putting on the handcuffs. I think this was done unintentionally. The Chief Warder had seen me and from him I had obtained leave to carry a book with me. He seemed to be under the impression that I was ashamed of the manacles, and so I had asked permission to carry a book, and hence he asked me to hold the book in my hands in such a way as to conceal the handcuffs. This made me smile, as I was feeling honoured in thus being manacled. The book that I was carrying was called, " The Court of God is in Their Mind." I thought this a happy coincidence, because I thought what hardships might trouble me externally, if I were such as to make God live in my heart, what should I care for the hardships ? I was thus taken on foot, handcuffed, to Court.

LESSONS OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

Some of the above details might be considered trivial, but my main object in setting them out has been that to minor as well as important matters you can apply the principles of resistance. I calmly acquiesced in all the

troubles, bodily given to me by the warder, with the result that, not only was I able to remain calm and quiet, but that he himself had to remove them in the end. If I had opposed him, my strength of mind would have become weakened, and I could not have done these more important things that I had to do, and in the bargain made him my enemy.

My food difficulty also was solved at last because I resisted, and underwent suffering in the beginning.

The greatest good I derived from these sufferings was that by undergoing bodily hardships. I could see my mental strength clearly increasing, and it is even now maintained. The experience of the last three months has left me more than ever prepared to undergo all such hardships with ease. I feel that God helps such conscientious objectors, and in putting them to the test, He only burdens them with such sufferings as they can bear.

WHAT I READ.

The tale of my happiness or unhappiness is now at an end. Amongst the many benefits I received in these three months, one was the opportunity I got to read. At the start, I must admit, I fell into moods of despondency and thoughtfulness while reading, and was even tired of these hardships, and my mind played antics like a monkey. Such a state of mind leads many towards lunacy, but, in my case, my books saved me. They made up in a large measure for the loss of the society of my Indian brethren. I always, got about three hours to read.

So that I was able to go through about thirty books, and con over others, which comprised, English, Hindi, Gujarathi, Sanskrit and Tamil works. Out of these, I consider Tolstoy's, Emerson's and Carlyle's worth mentioning. The two former related to religion. I had bor-

rowed the Bible from the jail. Tolstoy's books are so simple and easy that any man can study and profit by them. Again, he is a man who practices what he preaches and hence his writings inspire great confidence.

Carlyle's French Revolution is written in a very effective style. It made be think that from the White Nations we could hardly learn the remedy to remove the present miseries of India, because I am of opinion that the French people have secured no special benefits by their Revolution. This was what Mazzini thought too. There is a great conflict of opinion about this, which it is hardly proper to mention here. Even there I saw some instances of passive resistance.

The Swamiji had sent me Gujarati, Hindi and Sanskrit books. Bhat Keshavram had sent *Vedasabdasankhlja* and Mr. Motilal Devan, the Upanishads. I also read the Manusmriti, the Ramayana Sar, published in Phœnix, the *Patanjal Yog Darshana*, the *Ahnik Prakash* of Nathuramji, the *Sandhya Gutika* given by Professor Parmanand, the *Bhagavad Gita* and the works of the late Kavi Shri Rajchandra. This gave me much food for thought. The Upanishads produced in me great peacefulness. One sentence specially has struck to me. It means, "whatever thou dost, thou shouldst do the same for the good of the soul." The words are of great importance and deserve great consideration too.

But I derived the greatest satisfaction from the writings of Kavi Shri Rajchandra. In my opinion they are such as should attract universal belief and popularity. His life was as exemplary and high as Tolstoy's. I had learnt some passages from them and from the Sandhya book by heart and repeated them at night while lying awake. Every morning also for half an hour I used to

think over them, and repeat what I had learnt by heart. This kept my mind in a state of cheerfulness, night and day. If disappointment or despair attacked me at times, I would think over what I had read, and my heart would instantly become gladdened, and thank God. . . . I would only say, that in this world, good books make up for the absence of good companions, so that all Indians, if they want to live happily in jail, should accustom themselves to reading good books.

MY TAMIL STUDIES.

What the Tamils have done in the struggle no other Indian community has done. So I thought that if for no other reason than to show my sincere gratefulness to them, I should seriously read their books. So I spent the last month in attentively studying their language. The more I studied, the more I felt its beauties. It is an interesting and sweet language, and from its construction and from what I read, I saw that the Tamils counted in their midst, in the past and even now, many intelligent, clever and wise persons. Again, if there is to be one nation in India, those who live outside the Madras Presidency, must know Tamil.

THE END.

I wish that the result of the perusal of these experiences would be that he who knows not what patriotism is, would learn it, and after doing so, become a passive resister, and he who is so already, would be confirmed in his attitude. I also get more and more convinced that he who does not know his true duty or religion would never know what patriotism or feeling for one's own country is.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

HOW THE IDEA ORIGINATED.

In answer to a question put to him by the Rev. Joseph Doke, his biographer, as to the birth and evolution of this principle so far as he was concerned, Mr. Gandhi replied as follows:—

"I remember," he said, "how one verse of a Gujarati poem, which, as a child, I learned at school, clung to me. In substance it was this:—

"If a man gives you a drink of water and you give
him a drink in return, that is nothing,
Real beauty consists in doing good against evil."

As a child, this verse had a powerful influence over me, and I tried to carry it into practice. Then came the 'Sermon on the Mount.'

"But," said I, "surely the *Bhagavad Gita* came first?"

"No," he replied, "of course I knew the *Bhagavad Gita* in Sanskrit tolerably well, but I had not made its teaching in that particular a study. It was the New Testament which really awakened me to the rightness and value of Passive Resistance. When I read in the 'Sermon on the Mount' such passages as 'Resist not him that is evil but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also,' and 'Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven,' I was simply overjoyed, and found my own opinion confirmed where I least expected it.

The *Bhagavad Gita* deepened the impression, and Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God is Within You' gave it permanent form."

Tolstoy, Ruskin, Thoreau and the Passive Resistance Movement in England "had proved an object lesson, not only to him but to his people, of singular force and interest." Mr. Gandhi's ideal "is not so much to resist evil passively; it has its active compliment—to do good in reply to evil." In answer to Rev. Joseph Doke he said :—

I do not like the term "passive resistance," it fails to convey all I mean. It describes a method, but gives no hint of the system of which it is only part. Real beauty, and that is my aim, is in doing good against evil. Still, I adopt the phrase because it is well-known, and easily understood, and because, at present, the great majority of my people can only grasp that idea. To me, the ideas which underlie the Gujarati hymn and the "Sermon on the Mount" should revolutionise the whole of life.

SOUL FORCE *vs.* PHYSICAL FORCE.

The advantages of soul-force agianst physical force are well pictured by Mr. Gandhi in the following words :—

Passive resistance is an all-sided sword; it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used without drawing a drop of blood; it produces far-reaching results. It never rusts and cannot be stolen. Competition between passive resisters does not exhaust them. The sword of passive resistance does not require a scabbard and one cannot be forcibly dispossessed of it.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

As to how the movement originated in South Africa, here is Mr. Gandhi's statement :—

Some years ago, when I began to take an active part in the public life of Natal, the adoption of this method occurred to me as the best course to pursue, should petitions fail, but, in the then unorganised condition of our Indian community, the attempt seemed useless. Here, however, in Johannesburg, when the Asiatic Registration Act was introduced, the Indian community was so deeply stirred, and so knit together in a common determination to resist it, that the moment seemed opportune. Some action they would take; it seemed to be best for the Colony, and altogether right, that their action should not take a riotous form, but that of Passive Resistance. They had no vote in Parliament, no hope of obtaining redress, no one would listen to their complaints. The Christian churches were indifferent, so I proposed this pathway of suffering, and after much discussion, it was adopted. In September, 1906, there was a large gathering of Indians in the old Empire Theatre, when the position was thoroughly faced, and, under the inspiration of deep feeling, and on the proposal of one of our leading men, they swore a solemn oath committing themselves to Passive Resistance.

THE GENESIS OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

In an address that Mr. Gandhi delivered before an audience of Europeans at the Germiston (Transvaal) Literary and Debating Society in 1908, *he said :—*

Passive resistance was a misnomer. But the expression had been accepted as it was popular, and had been for a long time used by those who carried out in practice the idea denoted by the term. The idea was more completely and better expressed by the term " soul-force." As such, it was as old as the human race. Active resistance was better expressed by the term " body force." Jesus Christ, Daniel and Socrates represented the purest form of passive resistance or soul-force. All these teachers counted their bodies as nothing in comparison to their soul. Tolstoy was the best and brightest (modern) exponent of the doctrine. He not only expounded it, but lived according to it. In India, the doctrine was understood and commonly practised, long before it came into vogue in Europe. It was easy to see that soul-force was infinitely superior to body-force. If people in order to secure redress of wrongs, resorted to soul-force, much of the present suffering would be avoided. In any case, the wielding of this force never caused suffering to others. So that, whenever it was misused, it only injured the users, and not those against whom it was used. Like virtue, it was its own reward. There was no such thing as failure in the use of this kind of force. " Resist not evil" meant that evil was not to be repelled by evil, but by good; in other words, physical force was to be opposed not by its like but by soul-force.

The same idea was expressed in Indian philosophy by the expression, "freedom from injury to every living thing.' The exercise of his doctrine involved physical suffering on the part of those who practised it. But it was a known fact that the sum of such suffering was greater rather than less in the world. That being so, all that was necessary, for those who recognised the immeasureable power of soul force, was consciously and deliberately to accept physical suffering as their lot, and, when this was done, the very suffering became a source of joy to the sufferer. It was quite plain that passive resistance, thus understood, was infinitely superior to physical force, and that it required greater courage than the latter. No transition was, therefore, possible from passive resistance to active or physical resistance. . . . The only condition of a successful use of this force was a recognition of the existence of the soul as apart from the body, and its permanent and superior nature. And this recognition must amount to a living faith, and not a mere intellectual grasp.

A CONFESSION OF FAITH.

The following is an extract from a letter addressed by Mr. Gandhi to a friend in India in 1909:—

(1) There is no impassable barrier between East and West.

(2) There is no such thing as Western or European civilization, but there is a modern civilization which is purely material.

(3) The people of Europe, before they were touched by modern civilization, had much in common with the people of the East; anyhow the people of India, and even to-day Europeans who are not touched by modern civilization, are far better able to mix with Indians than the offspring of that civilization.

(4) It is not the British people who are ruling India, but it is modern civilization, through its railways, telegraph, telephone, and almost every invention which has been claimed to be a triumph of civilization.

(5) Bombay, Calcutta, and the other chief cities of India are the real plague spots.

(6) If British rule were replaced to-morrow by Indian rule based on modern methods, India would be no better, except that she would be able then to retain some of the money that is drained away to England; but then India would only become a second or fifth nation of Europe or America.

(7) East and West can only really meet when the West has thrown overboard modern civilization, almost in its entirety. They can also seemingly meet when East

has also adopted modern civilization, but that meeting would be an armed truce, even as it is between, say, Germany and England, both of which nations are living in the Hall of Death in order to avoid being devoured the one by the other.

(8) It is simply impertinence for any man or any body of men to begin or to contemplate reform of the whole world. To attempt to do so by means of highly artificial and speedy locomotion, is to attempt the impossible.

(9) Increase of material comforts, it may be generally laid down, does not in any way whatsoever conduce to moral growth.

(10) Medical science is the concentrated essence of black magic. Quackery is infinitely preferable to what passes for high medical skill.

(11) Hospitals are the instruments that the Devil has been using for his own purpose, in order to keep his hold on his kingdom. They perpetuate vice, misery, and degradation and real slavery. I was entirely off the track when I considered that I should receive a medical training. It would be sinful for me in any way whatsover to take part in the abominations that go on in the hospitals. If there were no hospitals for venereal diseases, or even for consumptives, we should have less consumption, and less sexual vice amongst us.

(12) India's salvation consists in unlearning what she has learnt during the past fifty years. The railways, telegraphs, hospitals, lawyers, doctors, and such like have all to go, and the so-called upper classes have to learn to live consciously and religiously and deliberately the simple peasant life, knowing it to be a life giving true happiness.

(13) India should wear no machine-made clothing whether it comes out of European mills or Indian mills.

(14) England can help India to do this, and then she will have justified her hold on India. There seems to be many in England to-day who think likewise.

(15) There was true wisdom in the sages of old having so regulated society as to limit the material condition of the people: the rude plough of perhaps five thousand years ago is the plough of the husbandman to-day. Therein lies salvation. People live long under such conditions, in comparative peace much greater than Europe has enjoyed after having taken up modern activity, and I feel that every enlightened man, certainly every Englishman, may, if he chooses, learn this truth and act according to it.

It is the true spirit of passive resistance that has brought me to the above almost definite conclusions. As a passive resister, I am unconcerned whether such a gigantic reformation, shall I call it, can be brought about among people who find their satisfaction from the present mad rush. If I realize the truth of it, I should rejoice in following it, and therefore I could not wait until the whole body of people had commenced. All of us who think likewise have to take the necessary step, and the rest, if we are in the right, must follow. The theory is there: our practice will have to approach it as much as possible. Living in the midst of the rush, we may not be able to shake ourselves free from all taint. Every time I get into a railway car or use a motor-bus, I know that I am doing violence to my sense of what is right. I do not fear the logical result on that basis. The visiting of England is bad, and any communication between South

Africa and India by means of ocean-grey-hounds is also bad, and so on. You and I can, and may, outgrow these things in our present bodies, but the chief thing is to put our theory right. You will be seeing there all sorts and conditions of men. I, therefore, feel that I should no longer withhold from you what I call the progressive step I have taken mentally. If you agree with me, then it will be your duty to tell the revolutionaries and everybody else that the freedom they want, or they think they want, is not to be obtained by killing people or doing violence, but by setting themselves right and by becoming and remaining truly Indian. Then the British rulers will be servants and not masters. They will be trustees, and not tyrants, and they will live in perfect peace with the whole of the inhabitants of India. The future, therefore, lies not with the British race, but with the Indians themselves, and if they have sufficient self-abnegation and abstemiousness, they can make themselves free this very moment, and when we have arrived in India at the simplicity which is still ours largely and which was ours entirely until a few years ago, it will still be possible for the best Indians and the best Europeans to see one another throughout the length and breadth of India, and act as the leaven. When there was no rapid locomotion, teachers and preachers went on foot, from one end of the country to the other, braving all dangers, not for pleasure, not for recruiting their health (though all that followed from their tramps), but for the sake of humanity. Then were Benares and other places of pilgrimage the holy cities, whereas to-day they are an abomination.

You will recollect you used to rate me for talking to my children in Gujarati. I now feel more and more convinced that I was absolutely right in refusing to talk to

them in English. Fancy a Gujarati writing to another Gujarati in English, which as you would properly say he mispronounces, and writes ungrammatically. I should certainly never commit the ludicrous blunders in writing Gujarati that I do in writing or speaking English. I think that when I speak in English to an Indian or a foreigner, I in a measure unlearn the language. If I want to learn it well, and if I want to attune my ear to it, I can only do so by talking to an Englishman and by listening to an Englishman speaking.

PASSIVE RESISTERS IN THE TOLSTOY FARM.

Writing to a friend from the Tolstoy Farm, where he was living with a number of passive resisters' families, Mr. Gandhi says touching manual labour :—

I prepare the bread that is required on the farm. The general opinion about it is that it is well made. Manilal and a few others have learnt how to prepare it. We put in no yeast and no baking powder. We grind our own wheat. We have just prepared some marmalade from the oranges grown on the farm. I have also learnt how to prepare coromel coffee. It can be given as a beverage even to babies. The passive resisters on the farm have given up the use of tea and coffee, and taken to coromel coffee prepared on the farm. It is made from wheat which is first baked in a certain way and then ground. We intend to sell our surplus production of the above three articles to the public later on. Just at present, we are working as labourers on the construction work that is going on, on the farm, and have not time to produce more of the articles above-mentioned than we need for ourselves.

THE RATIONALE OF SUFFERING.

Mr. Gandhi has explained the philosophy of Passive Resistance and the need for suffering in the following terms:—

The one view is why one should go to jail and there submit himself to all personal restriants, a place where he would have to dress himself in the coarse and ugly prison garb of a felon and to live upon non-nutritious and semi-starvation diet, where he is sometimes kicked about by jail officials, and made to do every kind of work whether he liked it or not, where he has to carry out the behests of a warder who is no better than his household servant, where he is not allowed to receive the visits of his friends and relatives and is prohibited from writing to them, where he is denied almost the bare necessities of life and is sometimes obliged to sleep in the same cell that is occupied by actual thieves and robbers. The question is why one should undergo such trials and sufferings. Better is death than life under such conditions. Far better to pay up the fine than to be thus incarcerated. May God spare his creatures from such sufferings in jail. Such thoughts make one really a coward, and being in constant dread of a jail life, deter him from undertaking to perform services in the interests of his country which might otherwise prove very valuable.

The other view is that it would be the height of one's good fortune to be in jail in the interests and good name of one's country and religion. There, there is very little of that misery which he has usually to undergo in daily life. There, he has to carry out the orders of one warder

only, whereas in daily life he is obliged to carry out the behests of a great many more. In the jail, he has no anxiety to earn his daily bread and to prepare his meals. The Government sees to all that. It also looks after his health for which he has to pay nothing. He gets enough work to exercise his body. He is freed from all his vicious habits. His soul is thus free. He has plenty of time at his disposal to pray to God. His body is restrained, but not his soul. He learns to be more regular in his habits. Those who keep his body in restraint, look after it. Taking this view of jail life, he feels himself quite a free being. If any misfortune comes to him or any wicked warder happens to use any violence towards him, he learns to appreciate and exercise patience, and is pleased to have an opportunity of keeping control over himself. Those who think this way are sure to be convinced that even jail-life can be attended with blessings. It solely rests with individuals and their mental attitude to make it one of blessing or otherwise. I trust, however, that the readers of this my second experience of life in the Transvaal jail will be convinced that the real road to ultimate hapiness lies in going to jail and undergoing sufferings and privations there in the interests of one's country and religion.

Placed in a similar position for refusing his poll-tax, the American citizen, Thoreau, expressed similar thoughts in 1849. Seeing the walls of the cell in which he was confined, made of solid stone two or three feet thick, and the door or wood and iron a foot thick, he said to himself thus :—

"I saw that, if there was a wall of stone between me and my townsmen, there was a still more difficult one to climb or break through before they could get to be as free as I was. I did not feel for a moment confined, and the walls seemed a

great waste of stone and mortar. I felt as if I alone of all my townsmen had paid my tax. They plainly did not know how to treat me, but behaved like persons who are underbred. In every threat and in every compliment there was a blunder; for they thought that my chief desire was to stand the other side of the stone-wall. I could not but smile to see how industriously they locked the door on my meditations, which followed them out again without let or hindrance, and they were nearly all that was dangerous. As they could not reach me, they had resolved to punish my body; just as boys if they cannot come to some person against whom they have a spite, will abuse his dog. I saw that the State was half-witted, that it was timid as a lone woman with her silver spoons, and that it did not know its friends from its foes, and I lost all my remaining respect for it, and pitied it".

A LESSON TO INDIA.

Mr. Gandhi wrote these lines in reply to the Rev. Joseph Doke, his well-known biographer, who had invited him to send a message to his countrymen in India with reference to the unrest in 1909 :—

The struggle in the Transvaal is not without its interest for India. We are engaged in raising men who will give a good account of themselves in any part of the world. We have undertaken the struggle on the following assumptions :—

(1) Passive Resistance is always infinitely superior to physical force.

(2) There is no inherent barrier between European and Indian anywhere.

(3) Whatever may have been the motives of the British rulers in India, there is a desire on the part of the Nation at large to see that justice is done. It would be a calamity to break the connection between the British people and the people of India. If we are treated as, or assert our right to be treated as, free men, whether in India or elsewhere, the connection between the British people and the people of India cannot only be mutually beneficial, but is calculated to be of enormous advantage to the world religiously, and, therefore, socially and politically. In my opinion, each Nation is the complement of the other.

Passive Resistance in connection with the Transvaal struggle I should hold justifiable on the strength of any of these propositions. It may be a slow remedy, not only for our ills in the Transvaal, but for all the political and other troubles from which our people suffer in India.

A MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS.

The following message to the Congress was published in the "Indian Review" for December 1909 :—

You have cabled me for a message to the forthcoming Congress. I do not know that I am at all competent to send any message. Simple courtesy, however, demands that I should say something in reply to your cable. At the present moment I am unable to think of anything but the task immediately before me, namely, the struggle that is going on in the Transvaal. I hope our countrymen throughout India realise that it is national in its aim, in that it has been undertaken to save India's honour. I may be wrong, but I have not hesitated publicly to remark that it is the greatest struggle of modern times, because it is the purest as well in its goal as in its methods. Our countrymen in the Transvaal are fighting for the right of cultured Indians to enter the Transvaal in common with Europeans. In this the fighters have no personal interest to serve, nor is there any material gain to accrue to anybody after the above-mentioned right (which has for the first time in Colonial Legislation been taken away) is restored. The sons of Hindustan, who are in the Transvaal, are showing that they are capable of fighting for an ideal pure and simple. The methods adopted in order to secure relief are also equally pure and equally simple. Violence in any shape or form is entirely eschewed. They believe that self-suffering is the only true and effective means to procure lasting reforms. They endeavour to meet and conquer hatred by love. They oppose the brute or physical force by soul- force. They hold that loyalty to an earthly sovereign or an earthly constitution is subordinate

to loyalty to God and His constitution. In interpreting God's constitution through their conscience they admit that they may possibly be wrong. Hence, in resisting or disregarding those man-made laws which they consider to be inconsistent with the eternal laws of God, they accept with resignation the penalties provided by the former, and trust to the working of time and to the best in human nature to make good their position. If they are wrong, they alone suffer, and the established order of things continues. In the process, over 2,500 Indians or nearly one-half of the resident Indian population, or one-fifth of the possible Indian population of the Transvaal, have suffered imprisonment, carrying with it terrible hardships. Some of them have gone to gaol again and again. Many families have been impoverished. Several merchants have accepted privation rather than surrender their manhood. Incidentally, the Hindu-Mahomedan problem has been solved in South Africa. We realise there that the one cannot do without the other. Mahomedans, Parsees and Hindus, or taking them provincially, Bangalees, Madrasees, Punjabis, Afghanistanees, and Bombayites, have fought shoulder to shoulder.

I venture to suggest that a struggle such as this is worthy of occupying the best, if not, indeed, the exclusive attention of the Congress. If it be not impertinent I would like to distinguish between this and the other items on the programme of the Congress. The opposition to the laws or the policy with which the other items deal does not involve any material suffering: the Congress activity consists in a mental attitude without corresponding action. In the Transvaal case the law and the policy it enunciates being wrong, we disregard it, and therefore consciously and deliberately suffer material and physical

injury: action follows, and corresponds to, our mental attitude. If the view here submitted be correct, it will be allowed that in asking for the best place in the Congress programme for the Transvaal question, I have not been unreasonable. May I also suggest that in pondering over and concentrating our attention upon passive resistance such as has been described above, we would perchance find out that, for the many ills we suffer from in India, passive resistance is an infalliable panacea. It is worthy of careful study, and I am sure it will be found that it is the only weapon that is suited to the genius of our people and our land, which is the nursery of the most ancient religions and has very little to learn from modern civilization—a civilization based on violence of the blackest type, largely a negation of the Divine in man, and which is rushing headlong to its own ruin.

THE GAINS OF THE PASSIVE RESISTANCE STRUGGLE.

The following is an English rendering from Gujarati, originally published in the "Indian Review" for Nov, Dec., 1911 ;

Very often we come across Indians who question the utility of passive resistance as carried on in this country (South Africa). They say that what our people have got as a result of the terrible sufferings in the jails and outside is some proposed modification in the Immigration Law, which they cannot understand, and which is hardly likely to be of any practical value to them. The maximum gain from the struggle, according to their view, is that thereby a few very highly-educated Indians who are least likely to be of any use to them will find it possible to enter the country. For the edification of those who hold the above view, we propose to give a short summary of the gains thereof.

That thereby the Indian community could preserve its national self-respect : according to our proverb, one who can preserve his self-respect can preserve everything else.

That thereby the Registration Act of 1907 has got to be swept off the statute book.

That thereby the whole of India became acquainted with our disabilities in this country.

That through it other nations became acquainted with our grievances and began to appreciate us better.

That by it was brought about the prohibition of Indian indentured labour to Natal by the Indian Government.

That the struggle helped to bring about some desirable modification in the Licencing Law of Natal.

That it brought about the disallowance of the Registration Law of Rhodesia which was framed on the same basis as that of the Transvaal.

That it brought about the disallowance of the most obnoxious Licensing Law of Natal. Any one who doubts this statement had better refer to the despatch of the Imperial Government disallowing the Act and the reasons for such disallowance.

That but for the struggle the other Colonies in South Africa would have passed Immigration Restriction Laws similar to the law in the Transvaal.

That but for the struggle, the Transvaal Legislature would have passed other Anti-Asiatic Laws as harsh as the Immigration Restriction Law.

That the struggle brought about the repeal of the Railway Regulations which differentiated between the white and the coloured people and that they are now applicable to all equally.

That it is a matter of common knowledge that the Transvaal Registration Law of 1907 was the first of a series of Anti-Asiatic Laws that were proposed to be added to the statute book. The unanimous opposition of the Indians to this law, however, deterred the Transvaal Government from taking up the other legislation.

That it brought into existence a committee consisting of Europeans under the presidency of Mr. Hosken which could not have come into existence otherwise. This committee is likely to be useful to Indians in their future struggle.

That besides those who have already joined the committe, it has created, in a great many other Europeans, feelings of sympathy and regard for Indians.

That thereby the Indian community has gained a great deal of prestige and that those Europeans who before the struggle used to treat Indians with contempt, have been taught to show them due regard and consideration.

That the Government now feels that the strength which is in us is unconquerable.,

That the majority of the Indians domiciled in the country showed themselves quite cowardly before the struggle. It has, however, given them more vigour and courage. Those who were afraid even to whisper before, that time, are now boldly speaking out their minds as men

That whereas before the struggle, there was no woman's movement in Johannesburg, now there is a class opened under Mrs. Vogle who gives her services free to the community.

That jail life which seemed so dreadful to Indians before the struggle, is no longer terrifying to them.

That although on account of the struggle, Mr. Cachalia and others have lost almost all their earthly possessions, they feel that as a consequence thereof, they have acquired much strength of mind and character which they could not have purchased with any amount of money and which nothing but the actual struggle could have infused into them.

That but for the struggle, the Indian community would have continued to remain ignorant of the fact that in the Tamil section thereof, there were men and women who were great asserts to this people, and who would do credit to any community.

That the struggle, which brought about the Transvaal Law of 1908, revived the rights of hundreds of Indians who had left the country during the great war.

That the Indian community now stands before the

world fully acquitted of all charges of fraud which were levelled against them before the present settlement.

That the withdrawal of the Bill introduced in the Union Parliament exempting Europeans from the payment of the poll-tax in Natal is one of the freshest instances showing the dread the authorities have of a fresh passive resistance struggle on the part of Indians.

That the struggle made General Smuts rescind his own orders on three and the Imperial Government on two different occasions.

That before the struggle, all laws used to be framed against us independently of us and what we thought of them, but that since the struggle the authorities are obliged to take our views and feelings into their consideration and they certainly show more regard to them.

That as a consequence of the struggle, the prestige of the Indian community stands on a much higher level than ever before. Better this than the riches of the whole world.

That the community has demonstrated to the world the invulnerability of "Truth."

That by keeping its full faith in God the community has vindicated the glory of Religion. "Where there is truth and where there is religion, there alone is victory."

On bestowing more thought on the question and looking at it from its various bearings, one can find much more to say as to the fruits thereof, than what has been stated above. The last on the list, however, is incomparably the best of them all. Such a great fight could not have been carried on successfully without fully trusting in God. He was our only prop all that time. Those who put their implicit faith in Him cannot but reach their aims. The struggle will not have been carried on in vain, if, as a result of it, we shall have learnt to put still more trust in Him.

WOMEN AND PASSIVE RESISTANCE

The following touching conversation between Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi occurred at a critical stage in the history of the struggle :—

The ladies were allowed to join the struggle after great effort was made by them to take part in it. When Mrs. Gandhi understood the marriage difficulty, she was incensed and said to Mr. Gandhi: "Then I am not your wife, according to the laws of this country." Mr. Gandhi replied that this was so and added that their children were not theirs. "Then" she said "let us go to India." Mr. Gandhi replied that that would be cowardly and that it would not solve the difficulty. "Could I not, then, join the struggle and be imprisoned myself?" Mr. Gandhi told her she could, but that it was not a small matter. Her health was not good, she had not known that type of hardship and it would be disgraceful if, after joining the struggle, she weakened. But Mrs. Gandhi was not to be moved. The other ladies, so closely related and living on the Settlement, would not be gainsaid. They insisted that, apart from their own convictions, just as strong as Mrs. Gandhi's, they could not possibly remain out and allow Mrs. Gandhi to go to gaol. The proposal caused the gravest anxiety. The step was momentous. If the decision was based on the impulse of the moment, they and those who allowed them to join might have to rue the day that it was made and accepted. Then how could they ensure being arrested without making a fuss? They wanted to avoid all publicity till they were

safely in gaol. Then there was the risk of the Government leaving them alone as being harmless maniacs and fanatics. If, at the last moment, they flinched, their prominence might seriously damage the cause they sought to advance. All these and several other considerations suggested that the best course would be to diliberately and openly decline to disclose their identity on courting arrest. And if the move failed even then, they were to proceed to Johannesburg and take up hawking without licences and compel arrest. Any hardship was light enough compared to that of having to bear the insult to them or their sisters of not being considered lawful wives of their husbands.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

Mr. Gandhi contributed the following paper to the Golden Number of the "Indian Opinion," in 1914.

I shall be at least far away from Phœnix if not actually in the Motherland, when this commemoration issue is published. I would, however, leave behind me my innermost thoughts upon that which has made this special issue necessary. Without passive resistance there would have been no richly illustrated and important special issue of *Indian Opinion* which has for the last eleven years, in an unpretentious and humble manner, endeavoured to serve my countrymen and South Africa, a period causing the most critical stage that they will, perhaps, ever have to pass through. It marks the rise and growth of passive resistance which has attracted world-wide attention.

The term does not fit the activity of the Indian community during the past eight years. Its equivalent in the vernacular, rendered into English, means truth-force. I think Tolstoy called it also Soul-Force or love-force, and so it is. Carried out to its utmost limit, this force is independent of pecuniary or other material assistance; certainly, even in its elementary form, of physical force or violence. Indeed, violence is the negation of this great spiritual force, which can only be cultivated or wielded by those who will entirely eschew violence. It is a force that may be used by individuals as well as by communities. It may be used as well in political as in domestic affairs. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence

and invincibility. It can be used alike by men, women, and children. It is totally untrue to say that it is a force to be used only by the weak so long as they are not capable of meeting violence by violence. This superstition arises from the incompleteness of the English expression. It is impossible for those who consider themselves to be weak to apply this force. Only those who realise that there is something in man which is superior to the brute nature in him, and that the latter always yields to it, can effectively be passive resisters. This force is to violence and, therefore, to all tyranny, all injustice, what light is to darkness. In politics, its use is based upon the immutable maxim that government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed. We did not want to be governed by the Asiatic Act of 1907 of the Transvaal, and it had to go before this mighty force. Two courses were open to us—to use violence when we were called upon submit to the Act, or to suffer the penalties prescribed under the Act, and thus to draw out and exhibit the force of the soul within us for a period long enough to appeal to the sympathetic chord in the governors or the law-makers. We have taken long to achieve what we set about striving for. That was because our passive resistance was not of the most complete type. All passive resisters do not understand the full value of the force, nor have we men who always from conviction refrain from violence. The use of this force requires the adoption of poverty, in the sense that we must be indifferent whether we have the wherewithal to feed or clothe ourselves. During the past struggle, all Passive Resisters, if any at all, were not prepared to go that length. Some again were only passive resisters so-called. They came without any conviction, often with mixed

motives, less often with impure motives. Some even, whilst engaged in the struggle, would gladly have resorted to violence but for most vigilant supervision. Thus it was that the struggle became prolonged; for the exercise of the purest soul-force, in its perfect form, brings about instantaneous relief. For this exercise, prolonged training of the individual soul is an absolute necessity, so that a perfect passive resister has to be almost, if not entirely, a perfect man. We cannot all suddenly become such men, but, if my proposition is correct—as I know it to be correct—the greater the spirit of passive resistance in us, the better men we will become. Its use, therefore, is, I think, indisputable, and it is a force which, if it became universal would revolutionise social ideals and do away with despotisms and the ever-growing militarism under which the nations of the West are groaning and are being almost crushed to death,—that militarism which promises to overwhelm even the nations of the East. If the past struggle has produced even a few Indians who would dedicate themselves to the task of becoming passive resisters as nearly perfect as possible, they would not only have served themselves in the truest sense of the term, they would also have served humanity at large. Thus viewed, passive resistance is the noblest and the best education. It should come, not after the ordinary education in letters of children, but it should precede it. It will not be denied that a child, before it begins to write its alphabet and to gain worldly knowledge, should know what the soul is, what truth is, what love is, what powers are latent in the soul. It should be an essential of real education that a child should learn that, in the struggle of life, it can easily conquer hate by love, untruth by truth, violence by self-suffering. It was because I felt the forces

of this truth, that, during the latter part of the struggle, I endeavoured, as much as I could, to train the children at Tolstoy Farm and then at Phœnix along these lines, and one of the reasons for my departure to India is still further to realise, as I already do in part, my own imperfection as a Passive Ressister, and then to try to perfect myself, for I believe that it is in India that the nearest approach to perfection is most possible.

ON SOUL-FORCE AND INDIAN POLITICS.

The following is a translation of the original in Gujarati published during the agitation against the internments in June, 1917:—

The English expression 'Passive Resistance' hardly denotes the force about which I propose to write. But Satyagraha, *i.e.*, Truth-force, correctly conveys the meaning. Truth-force is soul-force, and is the opposite of the force of arms. The former is a purely religious instrument; its conscious use is, therefore, possible only in men religiously inclined. Prahlad, Mirabai and others were Passive Resisters (in the sense in which the expression is here used). At the time of the Moroccan War, the French guns were playing upon the Arabs of Morocco. The latter believed that they were fighting for their religion. They defied death and with 'Allah' on their lips rushed into the cannon's mouth. There was no room left here for them to deal death. The French gunners declined to work their guns against these Arabs. They threw up their hats in the air, rushed forward and with shouts of cheer embraced these brave Arabs. This is an illustration of "Passive Resistance" and its victory. The Arabs were not consciously "Passsive Resisters." They prepared to face death in a fit of frenzy. The spirit of love was absent in them. A "Passive Resister" has no spirit of envy in him. It is not Anger that bids him court Death. But it is by reason of his ability to suffer that he refuses to surrender to the so-called enemy or the tyrant. Thus a "Passive Resister" has need to have courage, forgiveness and love. Imam Hussain and his little band re-

fused to yield to what to them appeared to be an unjust order. They knew at the time that Death alone would be their lot. If they yielded to it, they felt that their manhood and their religion would be in jeopardy. They, therefore, welcomed the embrace of Death. Imam Husain preferred the slaughter in his arms of his son and nephew, for him and them to suffer from thirst, rather than submit to what to him appeared to be an unjust order. It is my belief that the rise of Islam has been due not to the sword, but to the self-immolation alone of the Fakeers of Islam. There is little to boast of in the ability to wield, the sword. When the striker finds out his mistake, he understands the sinfulness of his act which now becomes murder and has to repent of his folly. Whereas he who courts death even though he might have done so in error, for him it is still a victory. 'Passive Resistance' is the Religion of Ahimsa. It is, therefore, everywhere and always a duty and is desirable. Violence is Himsa and has been discarded in all religions. Even the devotees of methods of violence impose elaborate restrictions upon their use. 'Passive Resistance' admits of no such limits. It is limited only by the insufficiency of the Passive Resister's strength to suffer.

No one else but a "Passive Resister" can answer the question whether his "Passive Resistance" is lawful or otherwise. The public can only judge after the "Passive Resister" has begun his work. He cannot be deterred by public displeasure. His operations are not founded upon Arithmetical Formulæ. He may be considered a clever politician or a thoughtful man who commences his so-called Passive Resistance only after having weighed chances of success and failure. But he is by no means a "Passive Resister." The former acts because he must.

Both Soul-force and force of Arms are from times immemorial. Both have received their due meed of praise in the accepted religious literature. They respectively represent Forces of Good and Evil. The Indian belief is that there was in this land a time when the forces of Good were predominant. That state still remains our ideal. Europe furnishes a forcible illustration of predominance of the Forces of Evil.

Either of these is preferable to rank cowardice. Neither Swaraj nor an Awakening among us is possible without resort to one or the other. "Swaraj" is no Swaraj which is gained without Action. Such Swaraj could make no impression on the people. No Awakening is possible without the people at large realising their power. In spite of protestations by leaders and effort by the Government, if they and we do not give "Passive Resistance" due predominance, methods of violence will automatically gain strength. They are like weeds; they grow anyhow in any soil. For a cultivation of "Passive Resistance" endeavour and courage form the necessary manure; and as weeds, if they are not rooted out, overwhelm a crop, even so will violence grow like weeds, if the ground is not kept clean by self-sacrifice for the growth of "Passive Resistance" and violence that may have already taken root be not dealt with by loving hands. By the method of "Passive Resistance" we can wean from the error of their ways the youths who have become impatient of and angered by what to them appears to be the Governmental Zoolum, and we can strengthen the forces of good by enlisting in favour of "Passive Resistance" their heroism, their courage and their power of endurance.

Therefore, the sooner the spirit of "Passive Resistance" pervades the atmosphere, the better it is. It will

bless both the Raj and the Raiyat. A passive Resister never wants to embarrass a Government or anybody else. He does not act thoughtlessly, he is never insolent. He therefore shuns boycott, but takes the Swadeshi vow as a part of his religion and never wavers in practising it. Fearing God alone, he is afraid of no other power. Fear of kings can never make him forsake the path of duty.

In view of the foregoing, it is hardly necessary for me to say that it is our duty to make use of "Passive Resistance" in order to procure the release of Mrs. Besant and her comrades. It is beside the point whether one approves of all or any of her acts. I certainly disapprove of some of her acts. But in my humble opinion, the Government have grievously erred in interning them, and it is an act of injustice. I know that the Government think otherwise. It is possible that the public are in error in desiring their release. The Government have acted upon their belief. How are the public to make an effective demonstration of their wounded feelings? Petitions and the like are a remedy for endurable grievances. For the unendurable "Passive Resistance" alone is the remedy. Only those who consider the wrong to be unendurable will, when the feeling possesses them, dedicate themselves body and soul to the release of Mrs. Besant. Such self-surrender is the most effective demonstration of a people's desire. And before it the mightiest power must bend. Such is my unalterable faith in the efficacy of soul-force. People may restrain the supreme demonstration in view of Mr. Montagu's impending visit. Such self-imposed restraint will be a token of their sense of justice and their faith in the Government. But, if the interned are not released before his arrival, it will be our duty to take up the matchless force I have endeavoured to describe. Its use will be a true measure for the Government of the pain felt by us; our intention cannot be to irritate or harass them; in my opinion, adoption of Satyagraha will be a service to the Government.

THE CHAMPARAN ENQUIRY

LABOUR TROUBLE IN BEHAR

For many years past the relations of landlords and tenants and the circumstances attending the cultivation of indigo in the Champaran District have not been satisfactory. In response to an insistent public demand to inquire into the conditions under which Indian labourers work in the Indigo Plantations, Mr. Gandhi arrived at Muzaffarpur on the 15*th April* 1917 *whence he took the midday train for Motihari. Next day he was served with a notice to quit the District "by next available train as his presence," the notice announced "will endanger the public peace and may lead to serious disturbance which may be accompanied by loss of life." Mr. Gandhi replied:*

With reference to the order under Sec. 144, Cr. P. C. just served upon me, I beg to state that I am sorry that you have felt called upon to issue it; and I am sorry too that the Commissioner of the Division has totally misinterpreted my position. Out of a sense of public responsibility, I feel it to be my duty to say that I am unable to leave this district, but if it so pleases the authorities, I shall submit to the order by suffering the penalty of disobedience.

I most emphatically repudiate the Commissioner's suggestion that 'my object is likely to be agitation.' My desire is purely and simply for 'a genuine search for knowledge' and this I shall continue to satisfy so long as I am left free.

Mr. Gandhi appeared before the Magistrate on the 18th instant and read the following statement before the court.

With the permission of the court I would like to make a brief statement showing why I have taken the very serious step of seemingly disobeying the order made under S. 144 of the Cr. P. C. In my humble opinion it is a question of difference of opinion between the local administration and myself. I have entered the country with motives of rendering humanitarian and national service. I have done so in response to a pressing invitation to come and help the ryots, who urge they are not being fairly treated by the indigo planters. I could not render any help without studying the problem. I have, therefore, come to study it with the assistance, if possible, of the administration and the planters. I have no other motive and I cannot believe that my coming here can in any way disturb public peace or cause loss of life. I claim to have considerable experience in such matters. The administration, however, have thought differently. I fully appreciate their difficulty, and I admit too, that they can only proceed upon the information they receive. As a law abiding citizen, my first instinct would be as it was, to obey the order served upon me. I could not do so without doing violence to my sense of duty to those for whom I came. I feel that I could just now serve them only by remaining in their midst. I could not, therefore, voluntarily retire. Amid this conflict of duty I could only throw the responsibility of removing me from them on the administration. I am fully conscious of the fact that a person, holding in the public life of India a position such as I do, has to be most careful in setting examples. It is my firm belief that in the complex constitution under which we are living, the only safe and honourable course for a self-

respecting man is, in the circumstances such as face me, to do what I have decided to do, that is, to submit without protest to the penalty of disobedience. I have ventured to make this statement not in any way in extenuation of the penalty to be awarded against me, but to show that I have disregarded the order served upon me, not for want of respect for lawful authority, but in obedience to the higher law of our being—the voice of conscience.

Under instructions from higher authorities the notice was soon withdrawn. Early in June a commission was appointed to enquire into the agrarian troubles in the Behar plantations with Mr. Gandhi himself as one of the members of the commission. In December 1917 *the Champaran Agrarian Bill based on the recommendations of the commission was passed in the Behar Legislative Council when the Hon. Mr. Maude who moved the Bill made a frank statement of the scandals which necessitated the enquiry, thus justifying Mr. Gandhi's work on behalf of the labourers.*

THE KAIRA QUESTION.

THE SITUATION IN KAIRA

In the year 1916–17 *there was serious and wide-spread failure of crops in the District of Kaira in Gujarat. Under the revenue rules the ryots were entitled to full suspension of taxes if the yield was less than* 4 *as. in the rupee and half suspension if between* 4 *and* 6 *as. The Government granted complete suspension to one village only out of a total of* 600, *half suspension to some* 104 *villages and issued orders to collect revenue from the rest. The ryots claimed that the Government were wrong in their estimate and Mr. Gandhi and Mr. V. J. Patel who conducted an enquiry also came to the same conclusion. The Government persisted in collecting revenues as usual. Petitions and protests having been of no avail the ryots resorted to passive resistance under the guidance of Mr. Gandhi. In the following lecture at Bombay in February* 1918, *Mr. Gandhi narrated the story of the trouble in Kaira in his usually brief and lucid manner:*

I do not want to say much. I have received a letter asking me to be present at to-morrow's deputation that is going to wait on his Excellency the Governor, and I am sure I will be able to explain to him the true facts. Still I must make it clear here that the responsibility of the notice issued by the Gujarat Sabha lies on me. I was at Ahmedabad before that notice was issued, where the matter of Kaira district was being discussed, when it was decided that the Gujarat Sabha ought to take part in the matter. I think that as regards this notice, a mountain

has been made out of a mole-hill. Every one knew what the notice was when it was being framed. Nobody then even dreamt that Government would misinterpret it. The Sabha had with it sufficient data about the plight of the people. They came to know that Government officials were collecting taxes and the people were even selling their cattle to pay the taxes. The matter had come to such a pass, and, knowing this, the Sabha thought it better to issue a notice to console the people who braved these hardships. And the notice was the result of that information, and I have every hope that in the deputation that is going to wait on the Governor, the result of the deliberations will end in the success of the people.

COMMISSIONER'S WRATH

If the Commissioner had not been angry with us, and had talked politely with the deputation that waited on him, and had not misinstructed the Bombay Government, such a grave crisis would not have eventuated, and we would not have had the trouble of meeting here this evening. The Sabha's request was to suspend the collection of dues till the negotiations were over. But Government did not take this proper course and issued an angry Press Note. It was my firm belief—and even now I firmly believe—that the representatives of the people and Government could have joined together and taken the proper steps I regret to have to say that Government has made a mistake. Perhaps subordinate officers of Government would say to Government that the notice was issued not from a pure motive, but from some other ulterior motive. If Government are impressed with this erroneous belief, those who have stood by the people, I hope, will continue to stand by them to the end and will not retreat. Any responsible right-thinking man could have given them the

same advice. People possess the same rights as the authorities have, and public men have every right to advise the people of their rights. The people that do not fight for their rights are like slaves (hear, hear), and such people do not deserve Home Rule. When authorities think that they can take anything from the people and can interfere, a difficult situation arises. And if such a situation arises, I must plainly say that those who have given the people the right advice, will stand by them till the end.

THE WEAPONS

I have not yet come to any conclusion, and I sincerely trust that those who understand the responsibility, will not hesitate to undergo hardships in order to secure justice. (Applause). And in such an eventuality I hope you will not beat an ignominous retreat. The first and the last principle of passive resistance is that we should not inflict hardships on others, but put up with them ourselves in order to get justice, and Government need not fear anything if we make up our mind, as we are bent on getting sheer justice from it and nothing else. To get that justice we must fight with the authorities and the people that do not so fight are but slaves. We can have only two weapons on occasions like this : Revolt or passive resistance, and my request is for the second remedy always. The right of suffering hardships, and claiming justice and getting our demands is from one's birth. Similarly we have to get justice at the hands of Government by suffering hardships. We must suffer hardships like brave men. What I have to say is, resort to the right means, and that very firmly, in order to remove the distress through which the Gujarat people are passing. It is my conviction that if we tell the truth to the British Government it can ultimately be convinced, and if only we are firm in our resolve, rest assured that Kaira people shall suffer wrongs no more. (Loud cheers).

THE VOW OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

As a result of the persistent refusal of Government to recognize the serious state of affairs in Karia and grant a suspension of revenue a passive resistance movement was inaugurated under Mr. Gandhi's lead. At the meeting on the 22nd March 1918, *at Nadiad, Mr. Gandhi exhorted the ryots to resort to Satyagraha, and over* 200 *men signed the following declaration* :

Knowing that the crops of our villages are less than four annas we had requested the Government to suspend the revenue collection till the ensuing year. As however Government has not acceded to our prayer we, the undersigned, hereby solemnly declare that we shall not pay, the full or remaining revenue, but we will let the Government take such legal steps as they may think fit to collect the same and we shall gladly suffer all the consequences of our refusal to pay. We shall allow our lands to be confiscated, but we shall not of our own accord pay anything and thereby lose our self-respect and prove ourselves wrong. If Government decide to suspend the second instalment of the revenue throughout the district, those amongst us who are in a position to pay, will pay the whole or the balance of the revenue as may be due. The reason why those of us who have the money to pay and still do not, is that if they do the poorer might in panic sell their things or borrow to pay and thereby suffer.

Under the circumstances we believe it is the duty of those who are able to pay to protect the poor.

STATEMENT ON THE KAIRA DISTRESS.

Mr. Gandhi sent to the Press the following statement on the Kaira distress under date 28th March 1918.

In the District of Kaira the crops for the year 1917-18 have, by common admission, proved a partial failure. Under the Revenue Rules if the crops are under four annas the cultivators are entitled to full suspension of the Revenue assessment for the year; if the crops are under six annas, half the amount of assessment is suspended. So far as I am aware, the Government have been pleased to grant full suspension with regard to one village out of nearly 600, and half-suspension in the case of over 103 villages. It is claimed on behalf of the ryots that the suspension is not at all adequate to the actuality. The Government contend that in the vast majority of villages crops have been over six annas. The only question, therefore, at issue is, whether the crops have under four annas or six annas, as the case may be or over the latter figure. Government valuation is in the first instance made by the Talatis assisted by the chief-man of the villages concerned. As a rule no check on their figures is considered necessary for it is only during partial failure of crops that Government valuation of crops may have to be challenged. The Talatis are as a class obsequious, unscrupulous and tyrannical. The chief men are especially selected for their docility. The Talati's one aim is naturally to collect full assessment as promptly as possible. We sometimes read accounts of assiduous Talatis having been awarded 'pugrees' for making full collection. In applying to the Tala-

tis the adjectives I have given, I wish to cast no reflection on them as men, I merely state the fact. The Talatis are not born; they are made; and rent-collectors all the world over have to cultivate a callousness without which they could not do their work to the satisfaction of their masters. It is impossible for me to reproduce the graphic description given by the Ryots of the recent collectors which the Talatis chiefly are. My purpose in dealing with the Talatis is to show that the Government's valuation of the crops is derived in the first instance from the tainted source and is presumably biased against the Ryots. As against their valuation we have the universal testimony of Ryots, high and low, some of whom are men of position and considerable wealth who have a reputation to lose and who have nothing to gain by exaggerations except the odium of Talatis and possibly higher officials. I wish to state at once that behind this movement there is no desire to discredit the Government, or an individual official. The movement is intended to assert the right of the people to be effectively heard in matters concerning themselves.

It is known to the public that the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Parekh and Mr. V. J. Patel invited and assisted by the Gujarat Sabha carried on investigations, as also Messrs. Deodhar, Joshi and Thakkar of the Servants of India Society. Their investigation was necessarily preliminary and brief and therefore confined to a few villages only. But the result of their enquiry went to show that the crops in the majority of cases was under four annas. As their investigation, not being extensive enough, was capable, of being challenged, and it was challenged. I undertook a full inquiry with the assistance of over 20 capable, experienced, and impartial men of influence and status. I personally visited over 50 villages and met as many men

in the villages as I could, inspected in these villages most of the fields belonging to them and after a searching cross-examination of the villagers came to the conclusion that their crops were under four annas. I found that among the men who surrounded me, there were present those who were ready to check exaggerations and wild statements. Men knew what was at stake if they departed from the truth. As to the 'Rabi' crops and the still standing 'Kharif' crops I was able by the evidence of my own eyes to check the statements of the agriculturists. The methods adopted by my co-workers were exactly the same. In this manner nearly four hundred villagers were examined, and with but a few exceptions, crops were found to be under four annas, and only in three cases they were found to be over six annas. The method adopted by us was, so far as the 'Kharif' crops were concerned, to ascertain the actual yield of the whole of the crops of individual villages and the possible yield of the same village in a normal year. Assuming the truth of the statements made by them, this is admittedly an absolute test, and any other method that would not bring about the same result must be rejected as untrue and unscientific; and as I have already remarked, all probability of exaggeration was avoided in the above-named investigation. As to the standing 'Rabi' crops there was the eye estimate and it was tested by the method above mentioned. The Government method is an eye estimate and therefore a matter largely of guess-work. It is moreover open to fundamental objections which I have endeavoured to set forth in a letter to the Collector of the District. I requested him to treat Vadthal—a well-known and ordinarily well-to-do village of the District with the railway line passing by it and which is near a trade centre—as a test case, and I

suggested that if the crops were in that village proved to be under four annas, as I hold they were, it might be assumed that in the other villages less fortunately situated, crops were not likely to be more than four annas. I had added to my request a suggestion that I should be permitted to be present at the inquiry. He made the inquiry, but rejected my suggestion, and therefore it proved to be one-sided. The Collector has made an elaborate report on the crops of that village, which in my opinion I have successfully challenged. The original Government valuation, I understand, was twelve annas, the Collector's minimum valuation is seven annas. If the probably wrong methods of valuation to which I have drawn attention and which have been adopted by the Collector, are allowed for, the valuation according to his own reckoning would come under six annas and according to the agriculturists it would be under four annas. Both the report and my answer are too technical to be of value to the public. But I have suggested that as both the Government and agriculturists hold themselves in the right if the Government have any regard for popular opinion, they should appoint an impartial committee of inquiry with the cultivators' representatives upon it, or gracefully accept the popular view. The Government have rejected both the suggestions and insist upon applying coercive measures for the collection of revenue. It may be mentioned that these measures have never been totally suspended and in many cases the Ryots have paid simply under pressure. The Talatis have taken away cattle, and have returned them only after the payment of assessment. In one case, I witnessed a painful incident :—A man having his milch buffalo taken away from him, and it was only on my happening to go to the village that the buffalo

was released ; this buffalo was the most valuable property the man possessed and a source of daily bread for him. Scores of such cases have already happened and many more will no doubt happen hereafter if the public opinion is not ranged on the side of the people. Every means of seeking redress by prayer has been exhausted. Interviews with the Collector, the Commissioner and His Excellency have taken place. The final suggestion that was made is this :—Although in the majority of cases people are entitled to full suspension, half suspension should be granted, throughout the District, except for the villages which show, by common consent, crops over six annas. Such a gracious concession may be accompanied by a declaration that the Government would expect those who have ready means voluntarily to pay up the dues, we the workers on our part undertaking to persuade, such people to pay up the Government dues. This will leave only the poorest people untouched. I venture to submit that acceptance of this suggestion can only bring credit and strength to the Government. Resistance of popular will can only produce discontent which in the case of fear-striken peasantry such as of Kaira can only find an underground passage and thus demoralise them. The present movement is an attempt to get out of such a false position, humiliating alike for the Government and the people. And how to the Government propose to assert XX their position and so-called prestige ? They have a ' Revenue Code ' giving them unlimited powers without a right of appeal to the Ryots against the decisions of the Revenue Authorities : Exercise of these powers in a case like the one before us in which the Ryots are fighting for a principle and the authorities for prestige, would be a prostitution of justice, of a disavowal of all fair-play. These powers are :—

(1) Right of summary execution.

(2) Right of exacting a quarter of the asseessment as punishment.

(3) Right of confiscation of land, not merely 'Raiatwari' but even 'Inami' or 'Sanadia', and the right of keeping a man under *hajat*.

Those remedies may be applied singly or all together, and unbelievable though it may seem to the public, it may be mentioned that notices of the application of all these remedies but the last have been issued. Thus a man owning two hundred acres of land in perpetuity and valued at thousands of Rupees, paying a small assessment rate, may at the will of the authority lose the whole of it, because for the sake of principle he respectfully refuses voluntarily to pay the assessment himself, and is prepared meekly but under strong protest to penalties that may be inflicted by law. Surely vindictive confiscation of property ought not to be the reward for orderly disobedience which properly handled can only result in progress all round and in giving the Government a bold and a frank peasantry with a will of its own.

I venture to invite the press and the public to assist these cultivators of Kaira who have dared to enter-up a fight for what they consider is just and right. Let the public remember this also that unprecedentally severe plague has decimated the population of Kaira. People are living outside their homes in specially prepared thatched cottages at considerable expenses to themselves. In some villages mortality has been tremendous. Prices are ruling high on which owing to the failure of crops they can but take little advantage and have to suffer all the disadvantages thoreof. It is not money they want, so much as the voice of a strong, unanimous and emphatice public opinion.

REPLY TO THE COMMISSIONER.

Mr. Gandhi wrote from Nadiad under date 15th April, the following reply to the Commissioner's address to the cultivators to desist from following Mr. Gandhi's lead in regard to the vow of Passive Resistance. The Commissioner's exhortations to the agriculturists amounted to a threat detailing the consequences of non-payment of revenues. Mr. Gandhi replied as follows:—

The publication of the summary of the Commissioner's Gujarati address to the Kaira cultivators necessitates a reply in justice to the latter as also the workers.

I have before me a verbatim report of the speech. It is more direct than the summary in the laying down of the Government policy. The Commissioner's position is that the revenue authorities' decision regarding suspension is final. They may and do receive and hear complaints from the Ryots but the finality of their decision cannot be questioned. This is the crux of struggle. It is contended on behalf of the Ryots that, where there are, in matters of administrative orders, sharp differences of opinion between local officials and them the points of differences are and ought to be referred to an impartial committee of inquiry. This, it is held, constitutes the strength of the British constitution. The Commissioner has on principle rejected this position and invited a crisis. And he has made such a fetish of it that he armed himself beforehand with a letter from Lord Willingdon to the effect that even he should not interfere with the Commissioner's decision. He brings in the war to defend his

position and abjures the Ryots and me to desist from our cause at this time of peril to the Empire. But I venture to suggest that the Commissioner's attitude constitutes a peril far graver than the German peril, and I am serving the Empire in trying to deliver it from this peril from within. There is no mistaking the fact that India is waking up from its long sleep. The Ryots do not need to be literate to appreciate their rights and their duties. They have but to realise their invulnerable power and no Government, however strong, can stand against their will. The Kaira Ryots are solving an Imperial problem of the first magnitude in India. They will show that it is imposible to govern men without their consent. Once the Civil Service realises this position it will supply to India truly *civil servants* who will be the bulwark of the peoples' rights. To-day the Civil Service rule is a rule of fear. The Kaira Ryot is fighting for the rule of love. It is the Commissioner who has produced the crisis. It was, as it is now, his duty to placate the people when he saw that they held a different view. The revenue of India will be no more in danger because a Commissioner yields to the popular demands and grants concessions than the administration of justice was in danger when Mrs. Maybrick was reprieved purely in obedience to the popular will, or the Empire was in danger because a corner of a mosque in Cawnpore was replaced in obedience to the same demand. Had I hesitated to advise the people to stand firm against the Commissioner's refusal to listen to their prayer, instead of taking the open and healthy course it has taken, their discontent would have burrowed under and bred ill-will. That son is a true son of his father who rather than harbour ill-will against him, frankly but respectfully tells him all he feels and equally respectfully resists him, if he

cannot truthfully obey his commands. I apply the same law to the relations between the Government and the people. There cannot be seasons when a man must suspend his conscience. But just as a wise father will quickly agree with his son and not incur his ill-will, especially if the family was in danger from without, even so a wise Government will quickly agree with the Ryots rather than incur their displeasure. War cannot be permitted to give a license to the officials to exact obedience to their orders, even though the Ryots may consider them to be unreasonable and uujust.

The Commissioner steals the hearts of the Ryots for continuing their course by telling them that for a revenue of four lakhs of rupees he will for ever confiscate over a hundred and fifty thousand acres of land worth over three crores of rupees, and for ever declare the holders, their wives and children unworthy of holding any lands in Kaira. He considers the Ryots to be misguided and contumacious in the same breath. These are solemn words.

"Do not be under the impression that our mamlatdars and our talatis will realise the assessment by attaching and selling your movable property. We are not going to trouble ourselves so much. Our officers' time is valuable. Only by your bringing in the monies shall the treasuries be filled. This is no threat. You take it from me that parents never threaten their children. They only advise. But if you do not pay the dues, your lands will be confiscated. Many people say that this will not happen. But I say it will. I have no need to take a vow. I shall prove that I mean what I say. The lands of those who do not pay will be confiscated. Those who are contumacious will get no lands in future. Government do not want their names on their Records of Rights. Those who go out shall never be admitted again."

I hold that it is the sacred duty of every loyal citizen to fight unto death against such a spirit of vindictiveness and tyranny. The Commissioner has done the Ahmedabad strikers and me a cruel wrong, in saying that the

strikers knowingly broke their vow. He was present at the meeting where the settlement was declared. He may hold that the strikers had broken their vow (though his speech at the meeting produced a contrary impression) but there is nothing to show that the strikers knowingly broke their vow. On the contrary it was entirely kept by their resuming their work on their getting for the first day wages demanded by them, and the final decision as to wages being referred to arbitration. The strikers had suggested arbitration which the mill-owners had rejected. Their struggle in its essence was for a thirty-five per cent. increase in their wages or such increase as an arbitration board may decide. And this is what they have got. The hit at the strikers and me is, I regret to have to say, a hit below the belt.

THE MEANING OF THE COVENANT.

On the 20th April, Mr. Gandhi in company of Mrs. Gandhi Messrs. Manu Subedar, V. J. Patel and others visited three villages, viz., Kasar, Ajarpura and Samarkha in Anand Taluka.

At Ajarpura which was visited by the Mamlatdar of the Taluka only two days back and where he had taken great pains to explain to the people why they should now pay up the revenue without any further delay, but where all efforts had proved fruitless, a meeting of about a thousand men and three hundred ladies was held. Here Mr. Gandhi delivered a long address. He said :—

"First of all I want to talk to you a little about the Mamlatdar's visit. The Mamlatdar told you that the cove-

nant must be observed. But he misinterpreted the meaning of the covenant. He told you that your forefathers had entered into a covenant with the Government to pay a certain assessment for the lands in their possession. Now let us see as to what kind of covenant our forefathers had entered into. Our ancient law covenant is that we should give to our king one-fourth of the grains that grow in our fields. It meant that whenever our crops failed we had to pay nothing. The present Government have changed this law and forces us to pay in money. I do not know whether it has gained thereby. Perhaps they may have. But remember well that this is our ancient law, and you have taken the vow in accordance with it. And again it is the Government law that if the crops are under four annas, the collection of revenue must be suspended till the next year. This year you sincerely believe that your crops are under four annas and therefore your revenue must be suspended. The Government say that it is not your right, but it is only a grace that it suspends revenue till the next year. Let me declare to you that it is no grace on the part of Government, but it is your right. And if it is a grace Government cannot show it at its sweet will."

He then pointed out that the real significance of the struggle lay in the fact that it would revive the old village republics. The key of village self government lay in the assertion of public opinion. He then exhorted them to be fearless. He then said that *Satyagraha* must pervade through all their life.

REPLY TO KAIRA PRESS NOTE.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi sent the following reply to the press note issued by the Bombay Government in the first week of May 1918 *on the situation in the Kaira District.*

The Government press note on the Kaira trouble is remarkable for the sins both of omission and commission. As to the paragraph devoted to Messrs. Parekh's and Patel's investigations I wish only to say that at the interview with his Excellency the Governor, the Commissioner challenged the accuracy of their statements. I immediately suggested the appointment of a committee of inquiry. Surely, it was the most proper thing that the Government could have done, and the whole of the unseemly executions, the removal of the cultivators' milch cattle and their ornaments, the confiscation orders, could have been avoided. Instead, as the press note says, they posted a Collector 'of long experience.' What could he do? The best of officials have to move in a vicious circle. They have to carry out the traditions of a service which has made of prestige a fetish and which considers itself to be almost infallible, and rarely admits its mistakes.

With reference to the investigation by Mr. Devdhar and his co-workers, the press note leaves on the reader the impression that the Commissioner had responded to their suggestions. At the interview at which I was present he challenged the report they had submitted to him and said distinctly that whatever relief he granted would not be granted because of the report which he said in substance was not true so far as it contained any new

things and was not new in so far as it contained any true statements.

I cannot weary the public with the tragedy in the Matar Taluka. In certain villages of the Taluka which are affected by the irrigation canals they have a double grievance : (1) the ordinary failure of crops by reason of the excessive rainfall and, (2) the total destrution of crops by reason of overflooding. In the second case, they are entitled to full remission. So far as I am aware, in many cases it has not been granted.

It is not correct to say that the Servants of India Society stopped investigation in the Thasra Taluka because there was no case for inquiry but because they deemed it unnecessary, so their report says, as I had decided to inquire into the crops of almost every village.

MR. GANDHI'S CHALLENGE NOT ACCEPTED.

The press note is less than fair in calling my method of inquiry 'Utopian.' I do adhere to my contention that if the cultivators' statements may be relied upon my method cannot but yield absolutely reliable results. Who should know better than the cultivator himself the yield of his crops ? I refuse to believe that lakhs of men could conspire to tell an untruth when there was no great gain in view, and suffering, a certainty. It is impossible for thousands of men to learn by heart figures as to the yield, —actual and probable—of over ten crops so that the total in each case would give less than a four-anna crop. I contend that my method contains automatic safeguards against deception. Moreover I had challenged the official annawari alike of *kharif* and *rabi* crops. When I did so the *rabi* crops were still standing. I had, therefore, suggested that they could cut the rabi crops and test the yield and thus find the true annawari. I had suggested

this specially of Vadthal. My argument was that if the cultivators' annawari of such *rabi* crops was found to be correct and the officials' wrong, it was not improper to infer that the cultivators' valuations regarding the *kharif* crops were also right. My offer was not accepted. I may add that I had asked to be allowed to be present when the collector visited Vadthal which was taken as a test village. This request was also not acceded to.

The note is misleading inasmuch as it states that in arriving at my annawari I have not taken into account the *rabi* crops or the cotton crop. I have taken these crops into account, I have simply questioned the logic of the official system. The reason is obvious. If out of a population of one thousand men only two hundred men grew *rabi* crops, it would be highly unjust to the eight hundred men to force up their annawari if without the rabi crops their crops showed only four annas or under.

GROSS INACCURACIES.

I am surprised at the gross inaccuracies in the paragraph devoted to the crops in Limbasi. In the first instance I was not present when the official inquiry was made, and in the second instance the wheat, which is valued at Rs. 13,445, included wheat also from two neighbouring villages so that out of the crops estimated at Rs. 13,445 three assessments had to be paid. And what are Rs. 13,445 in a population of eighteen hundred men? For the matter of that, I am prepared to admit that the Limbasi people had a rice crop which too gave them as many rupees. At the rate of forty rupees per head per year to feed a man the Limbasi people would require Rs. 72,000 for their food alone. It may interest the public to know that according to the official annawari the Limbasi wheat alone should have been who

Rs. 83,021. This figure has been supplied to me by the collector. To demonstrate the recklessness with which the Press Note has been prepared I may add that if the Limbasi people are to be believed the whole of the wheat crop was on the threshing floor. According to their statements, nearly one-third was foreign wheat. The Limbasi wheat, therefore, would be under Rs. 9,000. The official annawari is ten annas. Now according to the actual yield the wheat annawari of Limbasi was 11 annas as against the official ten annas. Moreover, a maund of wheat per Vigha is required as seed and the Limbasi cultivators had 3,000 (Rs. 3 per maund equals Rs. 9,000) maunds of wheat on 1,965 Vighas ; *i. e.*, the wheat crop was a trifle over the seed. Lastly, whilst the crop was under harvest I had offered to the collector to go over to Limbasi myself and to have it weighed so that there might be no question of the accuracy or otherwise of the cultivators' statements. But the collector did not accept my offer. Therefore, I hold that the cultivators' figures must be accepted as true.

ADVOCACY OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

Merely to show how hopelessly misleading the Press Note is I may state that the Gujarat Sabha did not pass a resolution advising passive resistance. Nor that it would have shirked it but I felt myself that passive resistance should not be the subject of a resolution in a Sabha, whose constitution was governed by the rule of majority and so the Gujarat Sabha's resolution left it open to individual members to follow their own bent of mind. It is true that most of the active members of the Sabha are engaged in the Kaira trouble.

I must repudiate totally the insinuation that I dissuaded paymentby people who wished to pay. The

figures given in the Press Note showing the collection in the different Talukas if they prove anything prove that the hand of the law has hit them hard and that the fears of the Ravanis and the Talatis have proved too strong for them. When after confiscation and sales under execution the Government show a clean bill and no arrears will they contend that there was no case for relief or inquiry ?

I admit that the suspension is granted as a matter of grace and not as a matter of right enforceable by law, but the concession is not based on caprice, but is regulated by properly defined rules, and the Government do not contend that if the crops had been under four annas they could have withheld suspension. The sole point throughout has been the difference as to annawari. If it is true that in granting concessions the Government take into account also other circumstances, e. g., in the words of the Press Note, the general economic situation, suspension is doubly necessary this year because of the plague and high prices. The collector told me definitely that he could not take this last into account. He could grant suspension only under the rules which had reference only to crops and nothing else.

I think I have shown enough here to warrant a committee of inquiry and I submit that as a matter of principle it would be worth while granting the inquiry even if one cultivator remains with an arrear against him, because there is nothing found to attach and the Government might be reluctant to sell his lands. The people have challenged the accuracy of Talatis' figures ; some cases there are Talatis themselves ready to come forward to show that they were asked to put up the annawari found by them. But if the inquiry is now held to be unnecessary, why do the Government not

grant suspension, especially when admittedly there is only a small number left to collect from and more especially when if suspension is granted well-to-do cultivators are ready to pay.

It is evident now that Government have surrendered the question of principle for which the commissioner has stood.

VICEROY'S CALL FOR CONCORD.

The Viceroy has appealed for the sinking of domestic differences. Is the appeal confined only to the ryots or may the officials also yield to the popular will when the popular demand is not immoral or unjust and thus produce contentment ?

If distress means starvation, I admit that the Kaira people are not starving. But if sale of goods to pay assessment or to buy grain for food be an indication of distress there is enough of it in the district. I am prepared to show that hundreds have paid their assessment either by incurring debts or by selling their trees, cattle or other valuables. The most grievous omission in the Press Note, however, is just of the fact that collections are being made in a vindictive spirit. The cultivators are being taught a lesson for their contumacy so called. They are under threat to lose their lands worth 3 crores of rupees for an assessment of 4 lakhs of rupees. In many cases a quarter of the assessment has been exacted as a penalty. Is there not in the above narrative room for a doubt that the officials may be in the wrong ?

END OF KAIRA STRUGGLE.

The following is the translation of a manifesto issued in Gujarati to the people of Kaira by Messrs. M. K. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel.

The struggle that the people of the district of Kaira entered upon on the 22nd of March last, has come to an end. The people took the following vow on that day.

"Our village has had crops under four annas. We therefore requested the Government to postpone collection to the next year, but they did not do so. We the undersigned therefore solemnly declare that we shall not pay the assessment for the year whether it be wholly or in part. We shall undergo all the sufferings that may result from such refraining. We shall also allow our lands to be confiscated should they do so. But we shall not by voluntary payment allow ourselves to be regarded as liars and thus lose our self-respect. If the Government would graciously postpone for all the remaining villages collection of the balance of the revenue, we, who can afford it, would be prepared to pay up revenue whether it be in full or in part. The reason why the well-to-do amongst us would not pay is that if they do, the needy ones would out of fright sell their chattels, or incur debts and pay the revenue and thus suffer. We believe that it is the duty of the well-to-do to protect the needy against such a plight."

The meaning of this vow is that the Government suspending collection of the revenue from the poor, the well-to-do should pay the assessment due by them. The Mamlatdar of Nadiad at Uttersanda, on the 3rd of June issued such orders, whereupon the people of Uttersanda, who could afford, were advised to pay up. Payments have already commenced there.

On the foregoing order having been passed at Uttersanda a letter was addressed to the Collector stating that if orders like the one in Uttersanda were passed every

where the struggle would come to an end, and it would be possible to inform His Excellency the Governor on the 10th instant—the day of the sitting of the Provincial War Conference—that the domestic difference in Kaira was settled. The Collector has replied to the effect that the order like the one in Uttersanda is applicable to the whole district. Thus the peoples' prayer has at last been granted. The Collector has also stated in reply to a querry about *Chothai* orders that the orders will not be enforced against those who may voluntarily pay up. Our thanks are due to the Collector for this concession.

AN END WITHOUT GRACE.

We are obliged to say with sorrow that although the struggle has come to an end it is an end without grace. It lacks dignity. The above orders have not been passed either with generosity or with the heart in them. It very much looks as if the orders have been passed with the greatest reluctance. The Collector says:—

> "Orders were issued to all mamlatdars on the 25th April that no pressure should be put on those unable to pay. Their attention was again drawn to these orders in a proper circular issued by me on the 22nd of May and to ensure that proper effect was given to them. The mamlatdars were advised to divide the defaulters in each village into two classes, those who could pay and those who were unable to pay on account of poverty."

If this was so why were these orders not published to the people? Had they known them on the 25th April what sufferings would they not have been saved from. The expenses that were unnecessarily incurred by the Government in engaging the officials of the district in effecting executions would have been saved. Wherever the assessment was uncollected the people lived with their lives in their hands. They have lived away from their homes to avoid attachments. They have not had even

enough food. The women have suffered what they ought not to have. At times, they have been obliged to put up with insults from insolent Circle Inspectors, and to helplessly watch their milch buffaloes taken away from them. They have paid *Chothai* fines and had they known the foregoing orders they would have been saved all the miseries. The officials knew that this relief for the poor was the crux of the struggle. The Commissioner would not even look at this difficulty. Many letters were addressed to him but he remained unbending. He said : "Individual relief cannot be granted, it is not the law." Now the Collector says : "The orders of April 25, so far as it related to putting pressure on those who were really unable to pay on account of poverty were merely a restatement of what are publicly known to be the standing orders of Government on that subject." If this is really true the people have suffered deliberately and through sheer obstinacy ! At the time of going to Delhi Mr. Gandhi wrote to the Commissioner requesting him to grant or to issue orders to the above effect so that the good news could be given to His Excellency the Viceroy. The Commissioner gave no heed to the request.

OFFICIALS' OBSTINACY.

"We are moved by the sufferings of the people, we perceive our mistake and in order to placate the people we are now prepared to grant individual relief," the officials could have generously said all this and endeared themselves to the people. but they have obstinately avoided this method (of winning them over.) And even now relief has been granted in a niggardly manner, involuntarily and without admission of any mistake. It is even claimed that what has now been granted is nothing new. And hence we say that there is little grace in the settlement.

The officials have failed to be popular because of their obstinacy, because of their mistaken belief that they should never admit being in the wrong and because of

their having made it a fetish that it should never be said of them that they had yielded to anything like popular agitation. It grieves us to offer this criticism. But we have permitted ourselves to do so as their friends.

A TRIBUTE TO KAIRA PEOPLE

But though the official attitude is thus unsatisfactory, our prayer has been granted and it is our duty to accept the concession with thankfulness. Now, there is only 8 per cent. of the assessment remaining unpaid. It was a point of honour with us till now to refuse payment. Conditions having materially altered it is a point of honour for a Satyagrahi to pay up the assessment. Those who can afford should pay without causing the Government the slightest trouble and thus show that when there is no conflict between the dictates of conscience and those of man-made law they are able to compel anybody to obey the law of the land. A Satyagrahi sometimes appears momentarily to disobey laws and the constituted authority, only to prove in the end his regard for both.

In making a list of those who are unable to pay we should apply a test so rigid that no one can challenge our finding. Those whose incapacity for payment is at all in doubt should consider it their duty to pay. The final decision as to the incapacity for payment will rest with the authorities, but we believe that the judgment of the people will have its full weight.

HONOUR OF A SATYAGRAHI

By their courage the people of Kaira have drawn the attention of the whole of India. During the last six months they have had full taste of the fruits of observing truth, fearlessnes, unity, determination and self-sacrifice.

We hope that they will still further cultivate these great qualities, will move forward in the path of progress, and shed lustre on the name of the Motherland. It is our firm belief that the people of Kaira have truly served their own cause, as well as the cause of Swaraj and the Empire.

May God bless you.

THE LAST PHASE

The Satyagraha Campaign in Kaira was thus practically over Several meetings were held, some to greet the Satyagrahis released from Jail, some to celebrate the victory of the Campaign and several more to do honour to Mr. Gandhi for his wise and courageous lead. At the meeting of the 27th July at Nadiad Mr. Gandhi thus welcomed those who were released from the jail.

We stand on the threshold of a twilight—whether morning or evening twilight we know not. One is followed by the night, the other heralds the dawn. If we want to see the dawning day after the twilight and not the mournful night, it behoves every one of us who are Home Rulers to realise the truth at this juncture to stand for it against any odds and to preach and practise it at any cost unflinchingly. Only will the correct practice of truth entitle them to the name of Home Rulers.

It happened that some one who preceded had said in the course of his speech that he was the disciple of Mr. Pandya who in turn was the disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. Almost the whole of Mr. Gandhi's address was in answer to this statement. He said:—

As the fates would have it, it happens that with my longer stay and increasing familiarity in India, the unenviable name of "Guru" is being given me. Some do not hesitate to volunteer for others and talk of them as my disciples. But I may give them a warning. I am not insensible that this warning carries with it a sense of self-esteem, but even at the risk of being styled conceited I would give the warning. I say that it is not within me to be anybody's "Guru." I have always and will always disclaim this title. I, who am in search of a spiritual Guru, how can I arrogate to myself the title of a Guru? I cannot even think of being any body's political guru in the sense that I applied the term to the late Mr. Gokhale, for I am but an infant in politics. Another thing is that I would be infinitely pained to find one who calls himself my disciple going astray, or falling short of my expectations and I want to spare myself that pain. I, therefore, ask you to think a million times before you proceed to say that you are anybody's disciple. Our whole life is but an experiment and our skill lies in always keeping the grain from the chaff. I wish you all to join me in this great experiment, not as disciples but as my brothers and sisters, regarding me if you choose, as your elder brother. To be a guru I must be myself flawlessly perfect, which I can never claim to be. Speaking of Mr. Mohanlal Pandya the Mahatma said: The honour for the victory belongs to Mr. Pandya in a special sense. I am everywhere being regarded as one living in the Elysian heights of perfectness, as one by profession a Satyagrahi, and as standing apart from all, capaple of conceiving anything and achieving anything. No one therefore ventures to emulate my example. But Mr. Mohanlal Pandya was still a novice in the trade, he began his study of Satyagraha early in the

campaign and has now won his degree of the Master of Arts. His influence, therefore, told on all and he could infect many others with his courage and love of truth Concluding, the Mahatma said that Satyagraha had multitudinous applications and one could not call himself a real Satyagrahi unless he had realised all of them.

The meeting in Nadiad was called for the special purpose of doing honour to Mr. Gandhi. On receiving the address Mr. Gandhi spoke to this effect :—

"I am grateful to you for the address of honour you have given me. But a servant of the people cannot accept honours. He is supposed to have consecrated his all to the people and I could but consecrate all that you have given me, to you. One who has made "service" his religion, cannot lust for honour; the moment he does so, he is lost. I have seen that some are inspired by the lust of help while some by the lust of fame. The lust of help is sordid enough, but that of fame is even more so. The misdeeds that the latter leads a man into one more wicked than those into which the former does. I therefore beseech you that if you want really to do me honour do not please give me a shower bath of addresses and honours. The best way to honour me is to do my behest and to carry my principles into practice. And what, forsooth, have I done in this campaign? If anything, I can only claim the cleverness that is necessary for a commander in picking out men for his campaign. I was clever enough in doing that but there too I should not have achieved anything if you had not acquitted yourselves well. The choice of my lieutenant, I may here add, was particularly happy. I will say that without the help of Mr. V. J. Patel we could not have won the campaign. He had a

splendid practice, he had his municipal work to do, but he renounced it all and threw himself in the campaign. But before I close I must give my tribute of praise to those who deserve it more than all the rest, and whose names will probably never adorn your honours list. First and foremost I place the sweeper in the Ananthashram, who has rendered me a service which is service in the highest sense of the term, and for which I can never express adequate gratefulness. Next come the children of the Ashram, who have ungrudgingly without any sense of reward served me, looked after me at all hours of the day and the night, and thus rendered a service of which vakils and barristers are incapable.

INDIAN PROBLEMS

THE DUTIES OF BRITISH CITIZENSHIP.

The following statement made by Mr. Gandhi at the time of the troubles in the Transvaal explains his attitude towards law and legislators and enunciates the duties of true British citizenship :—

I consider myself a lover of the British Empire, a citizen (though voteless) of the Transvaal, prepared to take my full share in promoting the general well-being of the country. And I claim it to be perfectly honourable and consistent with the above profession to advise my countrymen not to submit to the Asiatic Act, as being derogatory to their manhood and offensive to their religion. And I claim, too, that the method of passive resistance adopted to combat the mischief is the clearest and safest, because, if the cause is not true, it is the resisters, and they alone, who suffer. I am perfectly aware of the danger to good government, in a country inhabited by many races unequally developed, when an honest citizen advises resistance to a law of the land. But I refuse to believe in the infallibility of legislators. I do believe that they are not always guided by generous or even just sentiments in their dealings with unrepresented classes. I venture to say that if passive resistance is generally accepted, it will once and for ever avoid the contingency of a terrible death-struggle and bloodshed in the event (not impossible) of the natives being exasperated by a stupid mistake of our legislators.

It has been said that those who do not like the law may leave the country. This is all very well, spoken from a cushioned chair, but it is neither possible nor becoming for men to leave their homes because they do not subscribe to certain laws enacted against them. The Uitlanders of the Poer regime complained of harsh laws; they, too, were told that if they did not like them, they could retire from the country. Are Indians, who are fighting for their self-respect, to slink away from the country for fear of suffering imprisonment or worse? If I could help it, nothing would remove Indians from the country save brute force. It is no part of a citizen's duty to pay blind obedience to the laws imposed on him. And if my countrymen believe in God and the existence of the soul, then, while they may admit that their bodies belong to the state to be imprisoned and deported, their minds, their wills, and their souls must ever remain free like the birds of the air, and are beyond the reach of the swiftest arrow.

CIVIC FREEDOM

In the course of a conversation on board during a voyage to England, Mr. Gandhi enunciated his ideas on the sentiment of civic freedom as follows :—

He well recalled an incident that happened when he went to England. A gentleman on board said, " I see you are going to London in order to get rid of the dog's collar!" Precisely; it was because they did not want to wear a dog's collar that they had put up that fight. They were willing to sacrifice everything for sentiment, but it was a noble sentiment. It was a sentiment that had to be cherished as a religious sentiment. It was a sentiment that bound people together; it was a sentiment that

bound creatures to the Creator. That was the sentiment for which he asked them, advised them, if necessary, to die. Their action would be reflected throughout the British Dominions, through the length and breadth of India, and they were now upon their trial. . . . There was no better and no fear for a man who believed in God. No matter what might be said, he would always repeat that it was a struggle for religious liberty. By religion they did not mean formal religion, or customary religion, but that religion which underlay all religions, which brought them face to face with their *Maker*. If they ceased to be men; if, on taking a deliberate vow, they broke that vow in order that they might remain in the Transvaal without physical inconvenience, they undoubtedly forsook their God. To repeat again the words of the Jew of Nazareth, those who would follow God had to leave the world, and he had called upon his countrymen, in that particular instance, to leave the world and cling to God, as a child would cling to the mother's breast.

Their natural deaths they could die far outside the Transvaal, wherever there was a piece of earth given them, but if they would die a noble death, a man's death, there was only one course open to them. . . The handful of Indians who had a right to remain in the Transvaal should be allowed to remain as worthy citizens of a mighty Empire, but should not remain as beasts so long as he could help it.

A PLEA FOR THE SOUL.

The following is an extract from the letter of the London correspondent of the "Amrita Bazaar Patrika," summarising an address delivered by Mr. Gandhi before the Members of the Emerson Club and of the Hampstead Branch of the Peace and Arbitration Society whilst in London.

Mr. Gandhi turned to India, and spoke with enthusiasm of Rama, the victim of the machinations of a woman, choosing fourteen years' exile rather than surrender; other Orientals were mentioned, and then, through the Doukhabors of to-day, he brought the thoughts of the audience to the soul resistance of Indians-*versus* brute force in South Africa. He insisted that it was completely a mistake to believe that Indians were incapable of lengthened resistance for a principle; in their fearlessness of suffering they were second to none in the world. Passive resistance had been called a weapon of the weak, but Mr. Gandhi maintained that it required courage higher than that of a soldier on the battlefield, which was often the impulse of the moment; for passive resistance was continuous and sustained: it meant physical suffering. Some people were inclined to think it too difficult to be carried out to-day, but those who held that idea were not moved by true courage. Again referring to Oriental teaching, Mr. Gandhi said that the teaching of the "Lord's Song" was, from the beginning, the necessity of fearlessness. He touched on the question of physical force while insisting that it was not thought of by Indians in the Transvaal. He does not want to share in liberty for India that is gained by violence and bloodshed, and insists that no

country is so capable as India for wielding soul force. Mr. Gandhi did not approve of the militant tactics of the suffragettes for the reason that they were meeting body force with body force, and not using the higher power of soul force; violence begot violence. He maintained, too, that the association of Britain and India—must be a mutual benefit, if India—eschewing violence—did not depart from her proud position of being the giver and the teacher of religion. "If the world believes in the existence of the soul," he said in conclusion, "it must be recognised that soul force is better than body force: it is the sacred principle of love which moves mountains. On us is the responsibility of living out this sacred law; we are not concerned with results."

Mr. Gandhi protested against the mad rush of to-day, and, instead of blessing the means by which modern science has made this mad rush possible, that is, railways, motors, telegraph, telephone, and even the coming flying machines, he declared that they were diverting man's thoughts from the main purpose of life; bodily comfort stood before soul growth; man had no time to-day even to know himself; he preferred a newspaper or sport or other things rather than to be left alone with himself for thought. He claimed Ruskin as on his side in this expression of protest against the drive and hurry of modern civilisation. He did not describe this development of material science as exclusively British, but he considered that its effect in India had been baneful in many ways. He instanced the desecration of India's holy places, which he said were no longer holy, because the fatal facility of locomotion had brought to those places people whose only aim was to defraud the unsophisticated: such people, in the olden days when pilgrimages meant long and weari-

some walking through jungles, crossing rivers, and encountering many dangers, had not the stamina to reach the goal. Pilgrimages in those days could only be undertaken by the cream of society, but they came to know each other; the aim of the holy places was to make India holy. Plague and famine, which existed in pre-British days, were local then; to-day, rapid locomotion had caused them to spread. To avoid the calamity which intense materialism must bring, Mr. Gandhi urged that India should go back to her former holiness which is not yet lost. The contact with the West has awakened her from the lethargy into which she had sunk: the new spirit, if properly directed, would bring blessing to both nations and to the world. If India adopted Western modern civilisation as Japan had done, there must be perpetual conflict and grasping between Briton and Indian. If, on the other hand, India's ancient civilisation can withstand this latest assault, as it has withstood so many before, and be, as of old, the religious teacher, the spiritual guide, then there would be no impassable barrier between East and West. Some circumstances exist, said Mr. Gandhi, which we cannot understand; but the main purpose of life is to live rightly, think rightly, act rightly; the soul must languish when we give all our thought to the body.

ON ANARCHICAL CRIMES

The following is the summary of an address delivered at the Students' Hall, College Square, Calcutta, in March 1915, with the Hon. Mr. Lyon in the chair.

Though it was the command of his Guru, the late Mr. Gokhale that Mr. Gandhi, during his stay here should keep his ears open but his mouth shut, he could not resist the temptation of addressing the meeting. It was the opinion of the speaker as well as his departed Guru that politics should not be a sealed book to the student community; for he saw no reason why students should not study and take part in politics. He went the length of saying that politics should not be divorced from religion. They would agree with him as well as their teachers, professors and the worthy Chairman that literary education is of no value, if it is not able to build up a sound character. Could it be said that the students or .the public men in this country are entirely fearless? This question engaged the speaker's serious attention although he was in exile. He understood what political dacoity or political assassination was. He had given the subject his most careful attention and he came to the conclusion that some of the students of his country were fired no doubt with zeal in their minds and with love for their motherland, but they did not know how they should love her best. He believed that some of them resorted to nefarious means, because they did not work in the fear of God, but in the fear of man. He was there to tell them that if he was for sedition, he must speak out sedition and think loudly and take the

consequence. If he did so, it would clear the atmosphere of any taint of hypocrisy. If the students, who are the hopes of India, nay, perhaps of the Empire, did not work in the fear of God, but in the fear of man, in the fear of the authorities—the Government whether it is represented by the British or an indigenous body, the results would prove disastrous to the country. They should always keep their minds open, regardless of what the consequence would be; youths who have resorted to dacoities and assassinations, were misguided youths with whom they should have absolutely no connection. They should consider those persons as enemies to themselves and to their country. But he did not for a moment suggest that they should hate those people. The speaker was not a believer in Government, he would not have any Government. He believes that Government is the best that governs the least. But whatever his personal views were, he must say that misguided zeal that resorts to dacoities and assassinations cannot be productive of any good. These dacoities and assassinations are absolutely a foreign growth in India. They cannot take root here and cannot be a permanent institution here. History proves that assassinations have done no good. The religion of this country, the Hindu religion, is abstention from "*himsa*," that is taking animal life. That is, he believes the guiding principle of all religions. The Hindu religion says that even the evil-doer should not be hated. It says that nobody has any right to kill even the evil doer. These assassinations are a western institution and the speaker warned his hearers against these western methods and western evils. What have they done in the western world? If the youths imitated them and believed that they could do the slightest good to India they were totally

mistaken. He would not discuss what Government was best for India, whether the British Government or the Government that existed before, though he believed that there was a great deal of room for improvement in the British Government. But he would advise his young friends to be fearless, sincere and be guided by the principle of religion. If they had a programme for the country, let them place it openly before the public. The speaker concluded the address with an appeal to the young men present, to be religious and be guided by a spirit of religion and morality. If they were prepared to die, the speaker was prepared to die with them. He would be ready to accept their guidance. But if they wanted to terrorise the country, he should rise against them.

LOYALTY TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

At the annual gathering of the Madras Law Dinner in April 1915, *Mr. M. K. Gandhi was specially invited to propose the toast of the British Empire. The Hon'ble Mr. Corbet, the Advocate General, in doing so referred to Mr. Gandhi as a very distinguished stranger, a stranger in the sense that they had not known him long, but one whose name they were all familiar with. Mr. Gandhi was a member of the profession, though he had not lately practised. Mr. Gandhi, he continued, was about to propose the toast of the British Empire, for the consolidation of which he had laboured strenuously, with absolute self-devotion for many years. Mr. Gandhi said :—*

During my three months' tour in India, as also in South Africa, I have been so often questioned how I, a determined opponent of modern civilization and an avowed

patriot, could reconcile myself to loyalty of the British Empire of which India was such a large part; how it was possible for me to find it consistent that India and England could work together for mutual benefit. It gives me the greatest pleasure this evening at this great and important gathering, to re-declare my loyalty to this British Empire, and my loyalty is based upon very selfish grounds. As a passive resister I discovered that a passive resister has to make good his claim to passive resistance, no matter under what circumstances he finds himself, and I discovered that the British Empire had certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, and one of those ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope possible for his energies and honour and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience. I think that this is true of the British Empire, as it is not true of any other Government. (Applause.) I feel, as you here perhaps know, that I am no lover of any Government and I have more than once said that that Government is best which governs least. And I have found that it is possible for me to be governed least under the British Empire. Hence my loyalty to the British Empire. (Loud applause).

ADVICE TO STUDENTS.

Mr. Gandhi delivered the following speech at the Y. M. C. A. in reply to the Madras Students' address on April 27, 1915, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri presiding.

Mr. Chairman and Dear Friends,—Madras has well-nigh exhausted the English vocabulary in using adjectives of virtue with reference to my wife and myself and, if I may be called upon to give an opinion as to where I have

been smothered with kindness, love and attention, I would have to say: it is Madras. (Applause). But as I have said so often, I believed it of Madras. So it is no wonder to me that you are lavishing all these kindnesses with unparalleled generosity, and now the worthy president of the Servants of India Society—under which society I am going through a period of probation—has, if I may say so, capped it all. Am I worthy of these things? My answer from the innermost recesses of my heart is an emphatic "No." But I have come to India to become worthy of every adjective that you may use, and all my life will certainly be dedicated to prove worthy of them, if I am to be a worthy servant.

And so it is that you have sung that beautiful national song, on hearing which all of us sprang to our feet. The poet has lavished all the adjectives that he possibly could to describe Mother India. He describes Mother India as sweet smiling, sweet-speaking, fragrant, all-powerful, all good, truthful, land flowing with milk and honey, land having ripe fields, fruits and grains, land inhabited by a race of men of whom we have only a picture in the great Golden Age. He pictures to us a land which shall embrace in its possession the whole of the world, the whole of humanity by the might or right not of physical power but of soul-power. Can we sing that hymn? I ask myself, "can I, by any right, spring to my feet when I listen to that song." The poet no doubt gave us a picture for our realisation, the words of which simply remain prophetic, and it is for you, the hope of India, to realise every word that the poet has said in describing this motherland of ours. To-day, I feel that these adjectives are very largely misplaced in his description of the motherland, and it is for you and for

me to make good the claim that the poet has advanced on behalf of his motherland.

THE REAL EDUCATION.

You, the students of Madras, as well as the students all over India—are you receiving an education which will make you worthy to realise that ideal and which will draw the best out of you, or is it an education which has become a factory for making Government employees or clerks in commercial offices? Is the goal of the education that you are receiving that of mere employment whether in the Government departments or other departments? If that be the goal of your Education, if that is the goal that you have set before yourselves, I feel and I fear, that the vision which the poet pictured for himself is far from being realised. As you have heard me say perhaps, or as you have read, I am and I have been a determined opponent of modern civilisation. I want you to turn your eyes to-day upon what is going on in Europe and if you have come to the conclusion that Europe is to-day groaning under the heels of the modern civilization then you and your elders will have to think twice before you can emulate that civilisation in our Motherland. But I have been told, "How can we help it, seeing that our rulers bring that culture to our Motherland." Do not make any mistake about it at all. I do not for one moment believe that it is for any rulers to bring that culture to you, unless you are prepared to accept it, and if it be that the rulers bring that culture before us, I think that we have forces within ourselves to enable us to reject that culture without having to reject the rulers themselves. (Applause). I have said on many a platform that the British race is with us. I decline to

go into the reasons why that race is with us, but I do believe that it is possible for India if she would but live upto the traditions of the sages of whom you have heard from our worthy president, to transmit a message through this great race, a message not of physical might, but a message of love. And then, it will be your privilege to conquer the conquerors not by shedding blood but by sheer force of spiritual predominence. When I consider what is going on to-day in India, I think it is necessary for us to say what our opinion is in connection with the political assassinations and political dacoities. I feel that these are purely a foreign importation which cannot take root in this land. But you the student world have to beware, lest mentally or morally you give one thought of approval to this kind of terrorism. I, as a passive resister, will give you another thing very substantial for it. Terrorise yourself; search within; by all means resist tyranny wherever you find it; by all means resist encroachment upon your liberty, but not by shedding the blood of the tyrant. That is not what is taught by our religion. Our religion is based upon *ahimsa*, which in its active form is nothing but Love, love not only to your neighbours, not only to your friends, but love even to those who may be your enemies.

One word more in connection with the same thing I think that if we were to practise truth, to practise *ahimsa* we must immediately see that we also practise fearlessness. If our rulers are doing what in our opinion is wrong, and if we feel it our duty to let them hear our advice, even though it may be considered sedition, I urge you to speak sedition—but at your peril, you must be prepared to suffer the consequences. And when you are ready to suffer the consequences and not hit below the belt, then

I think you will have made good your right to have your advice heard even by the Government.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES.

I ally myself with the British Government, because I believe that it is possible for me to claim equal partnership with every subject of the British Empire. I to-day claim that equal partnership. I do not belong to a subject race, I do not call myself a member of a subject race. But there is this thing : it is not for the British Governors to give you, it is for you to take the thing. I want and I can take the thing. That I want only by discharging my obligations. Max Muller has told us,—we need not go to Max Muller to interpret our own religion—but he says, our religion consists in four letters "D-u-t-y" and not in the five letters "R-i-g-h-t". And if you believe that all that we want can go from a letter discharge of our duty, then think always of your duty and fighting along those lines ; you will have no fear of any man, you will fear only God. That is the message that my master—if I may say so, your master too—Mr. Gokhale has given to us. What is that message then ? It is in the constitution of the Servants of India Society and that is the message by which I wish to be guided in my life. The message is to spiritualise the political life and the political institutions of the country. We must immediately set about realising its practice. The students cannot be away from politics. Politics is as essential to them as religion. Politics cannot be divorced from religion. My views may not be acceptable to you. I know. All the same, I can only give you what is stirring me to my very depths. On the authority of my experiences in South Africa I claim that your countrymen who had not that modern culture, but who had that strength of the Rishis of old, who have

inherited the *tapascharya* performed by the Rishis, without having known a single word of English literature and without knowing anything whatsoever of the present modern culture, they were able to rise to their full height. And what has been possible for the uneducated and illiterate countrymen of ours in South Africa is ten times possible for you and for me to-day in this sacred land of ours. May that be your privilege and may that be my privilege. (Applause.)

POLITICS AND THE PEOPLE.

Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi on their way to Tranquebar arrived at Mayavaram on the 22nd May, 1915, *and they were presented with an address by the citizens of the town. In the course of his reply, Mr. Gandhi said* :—

It was quite by accident that I had the great pleasure of receiving an address from my 'Panchama brethren, and there, they said that they were without convenience for drinking water, they were without convenience for living supplies, and they could not buy or hold land. It was difficult for them even to approach Courts. Probably, the last is due to their fear, but a fear certainly not due to themselves, and who is then responsible for this state of things? Do we propose to perpetuate this state of things? Is it a part of Hinduism? I do not know. I have now to learn what Hinduism really is. In so far as I have been able to study Hinduism outside India, I have felt that it is no part of real Hinduism to have in its hold a mass of people whom I would call "untouchables." If it was proved to me that this is an essential part of Hinduism, I for one would declare myself an open rebel against Hinduism itself. (Hear, hear.)

Are the Brahmins in Mayavaram equal minded towards the Pariah and will they tell me, if they are so equal minded, that others will not follow? Even if they say that they are prepared to do so but others will not follow, I shall have to disbelieve them until I have revised my notions of Hinduism. If the Brahmins themselves consider they are holding high position by penance and austerity, then they have themselves much to learn, then they will be the people who have cursed and ruined the land.

My friend, the Chairman, has asked me the question whether it is true that I am at war with my leaders. I say that I am not at war with my leaders. I seem to be at war with my leaders because many things I have heard seem to be inconsistent with my notions of self-respect and with self-respect to my Motherland. I feel that they are probably not discharging the sacred trust they have taken upon their shoulders; but I am sure I am studying or endeavouring to take wisdom from them, but I failed to take that wisdom. It may be that I am incompetent and unfit to follow them. If so, I shall revise my ideas. Still I am in a position to say that I seem to be at war with my leaders. Whatever they do or whatever they say does not somehow or other appeal to me. The major part of what they say does not seem to be appealing to me.

I find here words of welcome in the English language. I find in the Congress programme a Resolution on Swadeshi. If you hold that you are Swadeshi and yet print these in English, then I am not Swadeshi. To me it seems that it is inconsistent. I have nothing to say against the English language. But I do say that, if you kill the vernaculars and raise the English language on the tomb of the vernaculars (hear, hear), then you are not favouring Swadeshi in the right sense of the term. If you feel that

I do not know Tamil, you should pardon me, you should excuse me and teach me and ask me to learn Tamil and by having your welcome in that beautiful language, if you translate it to me, then I should think you are performing some part of the programme. Then only I should think I am being taught Swadeshi.

I asked when we were passing through Mayavaram whether there have been any handlooms here and whether there were handloom-weavers here. I was told that there were 50 handlooms in Mayavaram. What were they engaged in? They were engaged chiefly in preparing "Sarees" for our women. Then is Swadeshi to be confined only to the women? Is it to be only in their keeping? I do not find that our friends, the male population, also have their stuff prepared for them by these weavers and through their handlooms, (a voice: there are 1,000 handlooms here.). There are, I understand, one thousand handlooms. So much the worse for the leaders! (Loud applause.) If these one thousand handlooms are kept chiefly in attending to the wants of our women, double this supply of our handlooms and you will have all your wants supplied by our own weavers and there will be no poverty in the land. I ask you and ask our friend the President how far he is indebted to foreign goods for his outfit and if he can tell me that he has tried his utmost and still has failed to outfit himself or rather to fit himself out with Swadeshi clothing and therefore he has got this stuff, I shall sit at his feet and learn a lesson. What I have been able to learn to-day is that it is entirely possible for me, without any extra cost, to fit myself with Swadeshi clothing. How am I to learn through those who move or who are supposed to be movers in the Congress, the secret

of the Resolution ? I sit at the feet of my leaders, I sit at the feet of the Mayavaram people and let them reveal the mystery, give me the secret of the meaning, teach me how I should behave myself and tell me whether it is a part of the National movement that I should drive off those who are without dwellings, why cry for water and that I should reject the advances of those who cry for food. These are the questions which I ask my friend here. Since I am saying something against you, I doubt whether I shall still enjoy or retain the affection of the student population and whether I shall still retain the blessing of my leaders. I ask you to have a large heart and give me a little corner in it. I shall try to steal into that corner. If you would be kind enough to teach me wisdom, I shall learn wisdom in all humility and in all earnestness. I am praying for it and I am asking for it. If you cannot teach me, I again declare myself at war with my leaders. (Loud cheers.)

THE REWARD OF PUBLIC LIFE.

In reply to the citizens' address at Bangalore presented in May 1915, *Mr. Gandhi made the following speech :—*

I did not want to be dragged in the carriage. There is a meaning in that. Let us not spoil our public men by dragging them. Let them work silently. We should not encourage the thought, that one has to work, because one will be honoured similarly. Let public men feel that they will be stoned, they will be neglected and let them still love the country ; for service is its own reward. A charge has been brought against us that we as a nation are too demonstrative and lack businesslike methods. We plead guilty to the charge. Are we to copy modern activities or

are we to copy the ancient civilisation which has survived so many shocks ? You and I have to act on the political platform from a spiritual side and if this is done, we should then conquer the conquerors. The day will dawn then, when we can consider an Englishman as a fellow-citizen. (Cheers). That day will shortly come; but it may be difficult to conceive when. I have had signal opportunities of associating myself with Englishmen of character, devotion, nobility and influence. I can assure you that the present wave of activity is passing away and a new civilisation is coming shortly which will be a nobler one. India is a great dependency and Mysore is a great Native State. It must be possible for you to transmit this message to British Governors and to British statesmen; the message is "Establish a Ram Rajya in Mysore and have as your minister a Vasishta who will command obedience." (Prolonged cheers.) Then my fellow-countrymen, you can dictate terms to the conqueror. (Prolonged cheers.)

THREE SPEECHES ON GOKHALE

I. UNVEILING MR. GOKHALE'S PORTRAIT

The following is the speech delivered by Mr. Gandhi at Bangalore in unveiling a portrait of Mr. Gokhale in May, 1915.

My dear countrymen,—Before I perform this ceremony to which you have called me, I wish to say this to you that you have given me a great opportunity or rather a privilege on this great occasion. I saw in the recitation,—the beautiful recitation that was given to me,—that God is with them whose garment was dusty and tattered. My thoughts immediately went to the end of my garment; I examined and found that it is not dusty and it is not

tattered; it is fairly spotless and clean. God is not in me. There are other conditions attached; but in these conditions too I may fail; and you, my dear countrymen, may also fail; and if we do tend this well, we should not dishonour the memory of one whose portrait you have asked me to unveil this morning. I have declared myself his disciple in the political field and I have him as my *Raja Guru*; and this I claim on behalf of the Indian people. It was in 1896 that I made this declaration, and I do not regret having made the choice.

Mr. Gokhale taught me that the dream of every Indian who claims to love his country, should be not to glorify in language but to spiritualise the political life of the country and the political institutions of the country. He inspired my life and is still inspiring; and in that I wish to purify myself and spiritualise myself. I have dedicated myself to that ideal. I may fail, and to what extent I may fail, I call myself to that extent an unworthy disciple of my master.

SPIRITUALISING THE POLITICAL LIFE

What is the meaning of spiritualising the political life of the country? What is the meaning of spiritualising myself? That question has come before me often and often and to you it may seem one thing, to me it may seem another thing; it may mean different things to the different members of the Servants of India Society itself. It shows much difficulty and it shows the difficulties, of all those who want to love their country, who want to serve their country and who want to honour their country. I think the political life must be an echo of private life and that there cannot be any divorce between the two.

* * * *

I was by the side of that saintly politician to the end of

his life and I found no ego in him. I ask you, members of the Social Service League, if there is no ego in you. If he wanted to shine, if he wanted to shine in the political field of his country, he did so not in order that he might gain public applause, but in order that his country may gain. He developed every particular faculty in him, not in order to win the praise of the world for himself, but in order that his country might gain. He did not seek public applause, but it was showered upon him, it was thrust upon him; he wanted that his country might gain and that was his great inspiration.

There are many things for which India is blamed, very rightly, and if you should add one more to our failures the blame will descend not only on you but also on me for having participated in to-day's functions. But I have great faith in my countrymen.

You ask me to unveil this portrait to-day, and I will do so in all sincerity and that should be the end of your life. (Loud and continued applause.)

II. THE LATE MR. GOKHALE

The following is the text of Mr. Gandhi's speech at the 15*th Bombay Provincial Conference held at Poona on* 10*th and* 11*th July* 1915, *in seconding the Resolution on Mr. Gokhale.*

Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters,—Perhaps it is impudent on my part to add anything to the feeling words that have been spoken by Mrs. Ranade. The fact that she is the widow of the master's master adds solemnity to the proceedings, which I can only mar by any remarks I may make. But, claiming as I do to be one of Mr. Gokhale's disciples, you will forgive me if I say a few

words which are personal tit-bits. It was on board the *Cronprinz* some years ago that I found myself in the master's company together with a common friend, Mr. Kallenbach, a German. (Laughter.) Let me say that all Germans are not fiends; nor are all German soldiers fiends. Mr. Kallenbach is a German and a soldier, but I feel that no purer-minded person to-day walks the earth in Europe than Mr. Kallenbach. (Hear, hear.) He was accepted as a worthy companion by Mr. Gokhale, who used to play with him the game of coits. Mr. Gokhale had just then, during the voyage from England to Capetown, picked up that game, and he very nearly gave Mr. Kallenbach a beating in the game. (Laughter.) I fancy that was a drawn game between them; and, let me add, Mr. Kallenbach, so far as I am aware, is one of the cleverest players of coits in South Africa. Just after that we had our meals at which Mr. Gokhale was talking to me with reference to the result of the game. He thought I never indulged in such sports and that I was against them. He expostulated with me in kind words and said, "Do you know why I want to enter into such competition with Europeans? I certainly want to do at least as much as they can do, for the sake of our country. (Hear, hear.) It is said, rightly or wrongly, that we are inferior people in many matters, and so far as I can do it"—and this he said in all humility—"I certainly want to show that we are at least their equals, if not their superiors." That was one incident. On board the same steamer we were engaged in a hot discussion in connection with our dear motherland, and he was mapping out for me, as a father would for his child, a programme that I was to follow in India if I ever happened to see the motherland again, and in connection therewith there was one thing he said:—

"We lack in India character; we want religious zeal in the political field." Shall we then follow the spirit of the master with the same thoroughness and the same religious zeal, so that we can safely teach a child politics? One of his missions in life, I think, was to inculcate the lesson that whatever we do, we should do with thoroughness. This it is not possible for us mortals to imitate in any degree of perfection. Whatever he did, he did with a religious zeal; that was the secret of his success. He did not wear his religion on his sleeves; he lived it. Whatever he touched, he purified; wherever he went, he re-created an atmosphere around him which was fragrant. When he came to South Africa he electrified the people there not only by his magnificent eloquence but by the sincerity of his character and by the religious devotion with which he worked. What was that devotion? Ailing though he was, he was awake the whole night practically when he was to have seen General Smuts; he did so in order to prepare the case for his countrymen with a thoroughness that surprised the Leader of the Boer Government. What was the result? The result was that he got the promise from the South African Government that the £3 tax would be gone in a few years, and the £3 tax is no more. (Cheers.) It is no more there to grind down so many thousands of our countrymen. Mr. Gokhale is dead, but it is possible for you and for me to make his spirit live in us and through us. (Hear, hear.) We are about to pass resolutions which would expect us, the chosen representatives, it, or may be, the self-elected representatives of the people to do certain things. Shall we discharge our trust with the master's devotion? The people we represent will base their verdict not upon our speeches but upon our actions, and how shall we act? We have a right to pass this resolution if we act in the spirit of the master.

III. GOKHALE'S SERVICES TO INDIA

In unveiling the portrait of Gokhale at the Khalihdina Hall, Karachi, on Tuesday the 29th February, 1916, *Mr. Gandhi spoke as follows :—*

In Hyderabad, Sind, also, I was asked to unveil a portrait of Mr. Gokhale ; and there I put to myself and to those present a question which I put to myself and to you now. That question is: What right have I to unveil the portrait of Mr. Gokhale and what right have you to join in the ceremony? Of course to unveil a portrait or to join in it is nothing great or important in itself. But the question really involved in the ceremony is important *viz.*, Are your hearts and is my heart in reality so much moved as to copy the glorious example of the great man? The function will have no real significance unless we follow in his footsteps. And if we do follow him we shall be able to achieve a great deal. Of course, it is not possible for all of us to achieve what Mr. Gokhale did in the Imperial Legislative Council. But the way in which he served the Motherland, the whole-hearted devotion with which he did it day and night without ceasing—all this it is in our power to do as the great one did. And I hope that when you leave this hall you will bear in mind to follow him and thus give expression to your regard for him. You know that the best achievement of Mr. Gokhale according to himself was the establishment of the Servants of India Society. This great institution he has left behind him ; and it lies with us to support it and continue its noble

work. It would be best if we could join the Society. But that will involve the question of our being fit for it. But if we are not in a position to join the Society, we can all do the next best thing *viz.* render pecuniary aid and swell the funds of the Society. A great deal of money has been collected in the Bombay Presidency to perpetuate the memory of Mr. Gokhale ; but so far nothing has been done in Karachi, Hyderabad and other parts of Sind. Hence to-day on this occasion you should all make up your minds to do something in this connection. In Bombay, Rs. 30,000 have been collected for the erection of Mr. Gokhale's statue. Besides that money has been collected for placing the Servants of India Society on a sound financial basis. For this purpose a lakh of rupees are required. That amount has not yet been collected. In fact, Rs. 75,000 has been collected and Rs. 25,000 still remains to be subscribed. Karachi and Hyderabad could easily do that and collect the balance. I do not mean to say that you should necessarily contribute that amount. You may do what your hearts move you to do ; what I say is that if your hearts are really moved, you may render monetary help to the Servants of India Society. That will be the true test of your regard for Mr. Gokhale and the best way of perpetuating the memory of the great man who lived and who died for the Motherland. (Loud applause).

HINDU UNIVERSITY SPEECH.

The following is the full text of the speech delivered on Feb. 4th 1916, *on the occasion of the opening of the Benares Hindu University. The speech was edited by Mr. Gandhi. "In editing the speech" he wrote, "I have merely removed some of the verbiage which in cold print would make the speech bad reading."*

Friends, I wish to tender my humble apology for the long delay that took place before I am able to reach this place. And you will readily accept the apology when I tell you that I am not responsible for the delay, nor is any human agency responsible for it. (Laughter). The fact is that I am like an animal on show, and my keepers in their over-kindness always manage to neglect a necessary chapter in this life, and that is pure accident. In this case, they did not provide for the series of accidents that happened to us—to me, keepers, and my carriers. Hence this delay.

Friends, under the influence of the matchless eloquence of the lady (Mrs. Besant) who has just sat down, pray, do not believe that our University has become a finished product, and that all the young men who are to come to the University, that has yet to rise and come into existence, have also come and returned from it finished citizens of a great empire. Do not go away with any such impression, and if you, the student world to which my remarks are supposed to be addressed this evening, consider for one moment that the spiritual life, for which this country is noted and for which this country has no rival,

can be transmitted through the lip, pray, believe me you are wrong. You will never be able merely through the lip, to give the message that India, I hope will one day deliver to the word. I myself have been "fed up" with speeches and lectures. I accept the lectures that have been delivered here during the last two days from this category, because they were necessary. But I do venture to suggest to you that we have now reached almost the end of our resources in speech-making, and it is not enough that our ears are feasted, that our eyes are feasted, but it is necessary that our hearts have got to be touched and that our hands and feet have got to be moved. We have been told during the last two days how necessary it is, if we are to retain our hold upon the simplicity of Indian character that our hands and feet should move in unison with our hearts. But this is only by way of preface. I wanted to say it is a matter of deep humiliation and shame for us that I am compelled this evening under the shadow of this great college, in this sacred city, to address my countrymen in a language that is foreign to me. I know that if I was appointed an examiner, to examine all those who have been attending during these two days this series of lectures, most of those who might be examined upon these lectures would fail. And why? Because they have not been touched. I was present at the sessions of the great Congress in the month of December. There was a much vaster audience, and will you believe me when I tell you that the only speeches that touched that huge audience in Bombay were the speeches that were delivered in Hindustani? In Bombay, mind you, not in Benares where everybody speaks Hindi. But between the vernaculars of the Bombay Presidency on the one hand, and Hindi on the other, no such great dividing

line exists as there does between English and the sister languages of India; and the Congress audience was better able to follow the speakers in Hindi. I am hoping that this University will see to it that the youths who come to it will receive their instruction through the medium of their vernaculars. Our language is the reflection of ourselves, and if you tell me that our languages are too poor to express the best thought, then I say that the sooner we are wiped out of existence the better for us. Is there a man who dreams that English can ever become the national language of India? (Cries of "Never"), Why this handicap on the nation? Just consider for one moment what an unequal race our lads have to run with every English lad. I had the privilege of a close conversation with some Poona professors. They assured me that every Indian youth, because he reached his knowledge through the English language, lost at least six precious years of life. Multiply that by the number of students turned out by our schools and colleges, and find out for yourselves how many thousand years have been lost to the nation. The charge against us is that we have no initiative. How can we have any if we are to devote the precious years of our life to the mastery of a foreign tongue? We fail in this attempt also. Was it possible for any speaker yesterday and to-day to impress his audience as was possible for Mr. Higginbotham? It was not the fault of the previous speakers that they could not engage the audience. They had more than substance enough for us in their addresses. But their addresses could not go home to us. I have heard it said that after all it is English-educated India which is leading and which is doing all the thing for the nation. It would be monstrous if it were otherwise. The only education we receive is English education. Surely we

must show something for it. But suppose that we had been receiving during the past fifty years education through our vernaculars, what should we have to-day? We should have to-day a free India, we should have our educated men, not as if they were foreigners in their own land but speaking to the heart of the nation; they would be working amongst the poorest of the poor, and whatever they would have gained during the past 50 years would be a heritage for the nation. (Applause). To-day even our wives are not the sharers in our best thought. Look at Professor Bose and Professor Ray and their brilliant researches. Is it not a shame that their researches are not the common property of the masses?

Let us now turn to another subject.

The Congress has passed a resolution about self-government, and I have no doubt that the All-India Congress Committee and the Moslem League will do their duty and come forward with some tangible suggestions. But I for one must frankly confess that I am not so much interested in what they will be able to produce as I am interested in anything that the student world is going to produce or the masses are going to produce. No paper contribution will ever give us self-government. No amount of speeches will ever make us fit for self-government. It is only our conduct that will fit us for it. (Applause). And how are we trying to govern ourselves? I want to think audibly this evening. I do not want to make a speech and if you find me this evening speaking without reserve, pray, consider that you are only sharing the thoughts of a man who allows himself to think audibly, and if you think that I seem to transgress the limits that courtesy imposes upon me, pardon me for the liberty I may be taking. I visited the Viswanath temple last even-

ing, and as I was walking through those lanes, these were the thoughts that touched me. If a stranger dropped from above on to this great temple, and he had to consider what we as Hindus were would he not be justified in condemning us? Is not this great temple a reflection of our own character? I speak feelingly, as a Hindu. Is it right that the lanes of our sacred temple should be as dirty as they are? The houses round about are built anyhow. The lanes are tortuous and narrow. If even our temples are not models of roominess and cleanliness, what can our self-government be? Shall our temples be abodes of holiness, cleanliness and peace as soon as the English have retired from India, either of their own pleasure or by compulsion, bag and baggage?

I entirely agree with the president of the Congress that before we think of self-government, we shall have to do the necessary plodding. In every city there are two divisions, the cantonment and the city proper. The city mostly is a stinking den. But we are a people unused to city life. But if we want city life, we cannot reproduce the easy going hamlet life. It is not comforting to think that people walk about the streets of Indian Bombay under the perpetual fear of dwellers in the storeyed buildings spitting upon them. I do a great deal of Railway travelling, I observe the difficulty of third class passengers. But the Railway Administration is by no means to blame for all their hard lot. We do not know the elementary laws of cleanliness. We spit anywhere on the carriage floor, irrespective of the thought that it is often used as sleeping space. We do not trouble ourselves as to how we use it; the result is indescribable filth in the compartment. The so-called better class passengers overawe their less fortunate brethren. Among them I

have seen the students world also. Sometimes they behave no better. They can speak English and they have worn Norfolk jackets and therefore claim the right to force their way in and command seating accommodation. I have turned the searchlight all over, and as you have given me the privilege of speaking to you I am laying my heart bare. Surely we must set these things right in our progress towards self-government. I now introduce you to another scene. His Highness the Maharajah who presided yesterday over our deliberations, spoke about the poverty of India. Other speakers laid great stress upon it. But what did we witness in the great pandal in which the foundation ceremony was performed by the Viceroy. Certainly a most gorgeous show, an exhibition of jewellery which made a splendid feast for the eyes of the greatest jeweller who chose to come from Paris. I compare with the richly-bedecked noblemen the millions of the poor. And I feel like saying to these noblemen, "There is no salvation for India unless you strip yourselves of this jewellery and hold it in trust for your countrymen in India." (Hear, hear and applause,) I am sure it is not the desire of the King-Emperor or Lord Hardinge that in order to show the truest loyalty to our King-Emperor, it is necessary for us to ransack our jewellery-boxes and to appear bedecked from top to toe. I would undertake, at the peril of my life, to bring to you a message from King George himself that he expects nothing of the kind. Sir, whenever I hear of a great palace rising in any great city of India, be it in British India or be it in India which is ruled by our great chiefs, I become jealous at once, and I say "Oh, it is the money that has come from the agriculturists." Over 75 per cent of the population are agriculturists and Mr. Higginbotham told us last night in his own

felicitous language, that they are the men who grow two blades of grass in the place of one. But there cannot be much spirit of self-government about us if we take away or allow others to take away from them almost the whole of the results of their labour. Our salvation can only come through the farmer. Neither the lawyers, nor the doctors, nor the rich landlords are going to secure it.

Now, last but not the least, it is my bounden duty to refer to what agitated our minds during these two or three days. All of us have had many anxious moments while the Viceroy was going through the streets of Benares. There were detectives stationed in many places. We were horrified. We asked ourselves, "Why this distrust? Is it not better that even Lord Hardinge should die than live a living death? But a representative of a mighty sovereign may not. He might find it necessary even to live a living death. But why was it necessary to impose these detectives on us? We may foam, we may fret, we may resent, but let us not forget that India of to-day in her impatience has produced an army of anarchists. I myself am an anarchist, but of another type. But there is a class of anarchists amongst us, and if I was able to reach this class, I would say to them that their anarchism has no room in India, if India is to conquer the conqueror. It is a sign of fear. If we trust and fear God, we shall have to fear no one, not Maharajahs, not Viceroys, not the detectives, not even King George. I honour the anarchist for his love of the country. I honour him for his bravery in being willing to die for his country; but I ask him—Is killing honourable? Is the dagger of an assassin a fit precursor of an honourable death? I deny it. There is no warrant for such methods in any scriptures. If I found it necessary for the salvation of India that the English

should retire, that they should be driven out, I would not hesitate to declare that they would have to go, and I hope I would be prepared to die in defence of that belief. That would, in my opinion, be an honourable death. The bomb-thrower creates secret plots, is afraid to come out into the open, and when caught pays the penalty of misdirected zeal. I have been told: "Had we not done this, had some people not thrown bombs we should never have gained what we have got with reference to the partition movement." (Mrs. Besant: Please stop it). This was what I said in Bengal when Mr. Lyon presided at the meeting. I think what I am saying is necessary. If I am told to stop I shall obey (Turning to the Chairman) I await your orders. If you consider that by my speaking as I am, I am not serving the country and the empire I shall certainly stop. (Cries of "Go on."). (The Chairman:—Please explain your object). I am explaining my object. I am simply. (Another interruption). My friends, please do not resent this interruption. If Mrs. Besant this evening suggests that I should stop she does so because she loves India so well, and she considers that I am erring in thinking audibly before you young men. But even so, I simply say this that I want to purge India of this atmosphere of suspicion on either side, if we are to reach our goal, we should have an empire which is to be based upon mutual love and mutual trust. Is it not better that we talk under the shadow of this college than that we should be talking irresponsibly in our homes? I consider that it is much better that we talk these things openly. I have done so with excellent results before now. I know that there is nothing that the students are not discussing. There is nothing that the students do not know. I am therefore turning the searchlight towards ourselves. I hold the

name of my country so dear to me that I exchange these thoughts with you, and submit to you that there is no room for anarchism in India. Let us frankly and openly say whatever we want to say to our rulers, and face the consequences if what we have to say does not please them. But let us not abuse. I was talking the other day to a member of the much-abused Civil Service. I have not very much in common with the members of that Service, but I could not help admiring the manner in which he was speaking to me. He said ; Mr. Gandhi, do you for one moment suppose that all we, Civil Servants, are a bad lot, that we want to oppress the people whom we have come to govern ? 'No,' I said, then if you get an opportunity put in a word for the much-abused Civil Service ?" And I am here to put in that word. Yes ; many members of the Indian Civil Service are most decidedly overbearing ; they are tyrannical, at times thoughtless. Many other adjectives may be used. I grant all these things and I grant also that after having lived in India for a certain number of years some of them become somewhat degraded. But what does that signify ? They were gentlemen before they came here, and if they have lost some of the moral fibre, it is a reflection upon ourselves. (Cries of " No".) Just think out for yourselves, if a man who was good yesterday and has become bad after having come in contact with me, is he responsible that he has deteriorated or am I ? The atmosphere of sycophancy and falsity that surrounds them on their coming to India demoralises them, as it would many of us. It is well to take the blame sometimes.

If we are to receive self-government, we shall have to take it. We shall never be granted self-government. Look at the history of the British Empire and the British nation, freedom-loving as it is, will not be a party to

give freedom to a people who will not take it themselves. Learn your lesson if you wish to from the Boer War. Those who were enemies of that empire only a few years ago have now become friends.

[At this point there was an interruption and there was a movement on the platform to leave; the speech therefore ended here abruptly.]

THE BENARES INCIDENT

The following communication uas made to the Press by Mr. M. K. Gandhi, describing the circumstances under which his speech at the opening ceremony af the Hindu University, Benares, was interrupted.

Mrs. Besant's reference in *New India* and certain other references to the Benares incident perhaps render it necessary for me to return to the subject, however disinclined I may be to do so. Mrs. Besant denies my statement with reference to her whispering to the Princes. I can only say that if I can trust my eyes and my ears, I must adhere to the statement I have made. She occupied a seat on the left of the semi-circle on either side of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, who occupied the chair, and there was at least one Prince, perhaps there were two, who were sitting on her side. Whilst I was speaking Mrs. Besant was almost behind me. When the Maharaja rose Mrs. Besant had also risen. I had ceased speaking before the Rajahs actually left the platform. I gently suggested to her that she might have refrained from interrupting, but that, if she disapproved of the speech after it was finished, she could

have then dissociated herself from my sentiments. But she, with some degree of warmth, cried, "How could we sit still when you were compromising every one of us on the platform? You ought not to have made the remarks you did." This answer of Mrs. Besant's does not quite tally with her solicitude for me, which alone, according to her version of the incident, promoted her to interrupt the speech. I suggest that if she merely meant to protect me she could have passed a note round or whispered into my ears her advice. And, again, if it was for my protection, why was it necessary for her to rise with the Princes and to leave the hall as I held she did along with them?

So far as my remarks are concerned, I am yet unable to know what it was in my speech that seems to her to be open to such exception as to warrant her interruption. After referring to the Viceregal visit and the necessary precautions that were taken for the Viceroy's safety, I showed that an assassin's death was anything but an honorable death, and said that anarchism was opposed to our Sastras and had no place in India. I said then where there was honourable death it would go down to history as men who died for their conviction. But when a bomb-thrower died, secretly plotting all sorts of things, what could he gain? I then went on to state and dealt with the fallacy that, had not bomb-throwers thrown bombs, we should never have gained what we did with reference to the Partition Movement. It was at about this stage that Mrs. Besant appealed to the chair to stop me. Personally, I shall desire a publication of the whole of my speech whose trend was a sufficient warrant for showing that I could not possibly incite the students to deeds of violence. Indeed it was conceived in order to carry on a rigorous self-examination.

I began by saying that it was a humiliation for the audience and myself that I should have to speak in English. I said that English having been the medium of instruction it had done a tremendous injury to the country, and I conceive I showed successfully that, had we received training during the past 50 years in higher thought in our own vernaculars, we should be to-day within reach of our goal. I then referred to the Self-government Resolution passed at the Congress and showed that whilst the All-India Congress Committee and the All-India Moslem League would be drawing up their paper about the future constitution, their duty was to fit themselves by their own action for self-government. And in order to show how short we fall of our duty I drew attention to the dirty condition of the labyrinth of lanes surrounding the great temple of Kasi-Viswanath and the recently erected palatial buildings without any conception as to the straightness or the width of the streets. I then took the audience to the gorgeous scene that was enacted on the dais of laying of the foundation and suggested that if a stranger not knowing anything about Indian life had visited the scene he would have gone away under the false impression that India was one of the richest countries in the world, such was the display of jewellery worn by our noblemen. And turning to the Maharajahs and the Rajahs I humourously suggested that it was necessary for them to hold those treasures in trust for the nation before we could realise our ideals, and I cited the action of the Japanese noblemen who considered it a glorious privilege, even though there was no necessity for them, to dispossess themselves of treasures and land which were handed to them from generation to generation. I then asked the audience to consider the humiliating spectacle of the Viceroy's person having to be protected from

ourselves when he was our honoured guest. And I was endeavouring to show that the blame for these precautions was also on ourselves in that they were rendered necessary because of the introduction of organised assassination in India. Thus I was endeavouring to show on the one hand how the students could usefully occupy themselves in assisting to rid society of its proved defects, and on the other, to wean themselves even in thought from methods of violence.

I claim that with twenty years' experience of public life in the course of which I have had to address on scores of occasions turbulent audiences I have some experience of feeling the pulse of my audience. I was following closely how the speech was being taken, and I certainly did not notice that the student world was being adversely affected. Indeed some of them came to me the following morning and told me that they perfectly understood my remarks, which had gone home. One of them, a keen debater, even subjected me to cross-examination and seemed to feel convinced by a further development of the argument such as I had advanced in the course of my speech. Indeed I have spoken now to thousands of students and others of my countrymen throughout South Africa, England and India and by precisely the arguments that I used that evening I claim to have weaned many from their approval of anarchical methods.

Finally, I observe that Mr. S. S. Setlur, of Bombay, who has written on the incident to *Hindu* in no friendly mood towards me and who, I think, in some respects totally and unfairly has endeavoured to tear me to pieces and who was an eye-witness to the proceedings gives a version different from Mrs. Besant's. He thinks that the genera impression was not that I was encouraging the anarchists,

but I was playing the role of an apologist for the civilian bureaucrat. The whole of Mr. Setlur's attack upon me shows that if he is right, I was certainly not guilty of any incitement to violence and that offence consisted in my reference to jewellery, etc.

In order that the fullest justice might be done both to Mrs. Besant and myself, I would make the following suggestion. She says that she does not propose to defend herself by quoting the sentence which drew the Princes away and that would be playing into the enemies' hand. According to her previous statement my speech is already in the hands of detectives, so that so far as my safety is concerned, her forbearance is not going to be of the slightest use. Would it not therefore be better that she should either publish a verbatim report, if she has it, or reproduce such sentiments in my speech as, in her opinion, necessitated her interruption and the Princes' withdrawal.

I will therefore conclude this statement by repeating what I have said before; that, but for Mrs. Besant's interruption, I would have concluded my speech in a few minutes and no possible misconception about my views on anarchism would have a risen.

REPLY TO KARACHI ADDRESS

In reply to the welcome address presented by the Citizens' Association, Karachi, on February 29,1916, *Mr. Gandhi spoke in Hindi to the following effect :—*

I am grateful to you all for this address and for what you have done in connection with my visit and for the trouble you have taken therefor. I have been travelling in various parts of India ; and in the course of my travels I have been struck with the fact that throughout India the hearts of the people are in a special degree drawn towards me. All brothers of Hindustan, without distinction of creed or caste, have been showing this attachment. But I feel convinced that this remarkable attachment to me is meant not for me but as a fitting tribute of admiration to all those noble brothers and sisters of ours in South Africa who underwent such immense troubles and sacrifices, including incarceretion in jails, for the service of the Motherland. It is undoubtedly this consideration which leads you to be so very kind to me. It was they who won the struggle, and it was by reason of their unflinching determination to 'do or die' that so much was achieved. Hence I take it that whatever tribute is paid to me is in reality and in truth paid to them.

In the course of my tour in India I have been particularly struck with one thing and that is the awakening of the Indian people. A new hope has filled the hearts of the people, hope that something is going to happen which will raise the Motherland to a higher status. But side by side with this spirit of hope I also had

amongst my countrymen awe not only of the Government but also of heads of castes and the priestly class. As a result of this we are afraid to speak out what is in us. So long as this spirit remains, there will be and there can be, no true progress. You know that at the last session of the Congress a resolution was passed about self-government. For the attainment of that ideal you and I, all of us, must work and persevere. In persuance of that resolution the committees of the Congress and the Moslem League will soon meet together; and they will decide what they think proper. But the attainment of self-government depends not on their saying or doing anything but upon what you and I do. Here in Karachi commerce is predominent and there are many big merchants. To them I wish to address a few words. It is a misapprehension to think that there is no scope in commerce for serving the mother-country. If they are inspired by the spirit of truth, merchants can be immensely useful to the country. The salvation of our country, remember, is not in the hands of others but of ourselves, and more in the hands of merchants in some respects than the educated people; for I strongly feel that so long as there is no swedeshism there can be no self-government (hear, hear,); and for the spread of swadeshism Indian merchants are in a position to do a very great deal. The swadeshi wave passed through the country at one time. But I understand that the movement had collapsed largely because Indian merchants had palmed on foreign goods as swadeshi articles. By Indian merchants being honest and straight forward in their business, they could achieve a great deal for the regeneration and uplift of the country. Hence merchants should faithfully observe what Hindus call *Dharma* and Muhammadans call *Iman* in their business transactions.

Then shall India be uplifted. I appeal to you that in this potent way can you be serviceable to the country. Karachi is a big and important city—the fourth important city and port in India. It possesses many big and rich merchants. I hope they will brood over this suggestion, for it rests very largely with the merchants to do lasting good or lasting harm to the country. In South Africa our merchants rendered valuable help in the struggle ; and yet because some of them weakened, the struggle was prolonged somewhat. It is the duty of the educated classes to mix freely with Indian merchants and the poor classes. Then will our journey to the common and cherished goal be less irksome. (Prolonged applause.)

THE GURUKULA

The following is an account of Mr. Gandhi's speech at the anniversary of the Gurukula, as written out by himself:—

I propose to reproduce only as much of it as in my opinion is worth placing on record with additions where they may be found necessary. The speech, it may be observed, was delivered in Hindi. After thanking Mahatmaji Munshi Ram for his great kindness to my boys to whom he gave shelter on two occasions and acted as father to them and after stating that the time for action had arrived rather than for speeches, I proceeded :—I owe a debt of gratitude to Arya Samaj. I have often derived inspiration from its activity. I have noticed among the members of the Samaj much self-sacrifice. During my travels in India I came across many Arya Samajists who were doing excellent work for the country. I am, therefore, grateful to Mahatmaji that I am enabled to be in your midst. At the same time it is but fair to state that

I am frankly a Sanatanist. For me Hinduism is all-sufficing. Every variety of belief finds protection under its ample fold. And though the Arya Samajists and the Sikhs and the Brahmo Samajists may choose to be classed differently from the Hindus, I have no doubt that at no distant future they will be all merged in Hinduism and find in it their fulness. Hinduism like every other human institution has its drawbacks and its defects. Here is ample scope for any worker to strive for reform, but there is little cause for secession.

SPIRIT OF FEARLESSNESS

Throughout my travels I have been asked about the immediate need for India. And perhaps I would not do better than repeating this afternoon the answer I have given elsewhere. In general terms a proper religious spirit is the greatest and most immediate need. But I know that this is too general an answer to satisfy anybody. And it is an answer true for all time. What, therefore, I desire to say is that owing to the religious spirit being dormant in us, we are living in a state of perpetual fear. We fear the temporal as well as the spiritual authority. We dare not speak out our minds before our priests and our Pandits. We stand in awe of the temporal power. I am sure that in so doing we do a disservice to them and us. Neither the spiritual teachers nor our political governors could possibly desire that we should hide the truth from them. Lord Willingdon speaking to a Bombay audience has been saying recently that he had observed that we hesitated to say 'no' when we really meant it and advised his audience to cultivate a fearless spirit. Of course, fearlessness should never mean want of due respect or regard for the feelings of others. In my humble opinion fear-

lessness is the first thing indispensable before we could achieve anything permanent and real. This quality is unattainable without religious consciousness. Let us fear God and we shall cease to fear man. If we grasp the fact that there is a divinity within us which witnesses everything we think or do and which protects us and guides us along the true path, it is clear that we shall cease to have any other fear on the face of the earth save the fear of God. Loyalty to the Governor of governors supersedes all other loyalty and gives an intelligent basis to the latter.

MEANING OF SWADESHI

And when we have sufficiently cultivated this spirit of fearlessness, we shall see that there is no salvation for us without true Swadeshi, not the Swadeshi which can be conveniently put off. Swadeshi for me has a deeper meaning. I would like us to apply it in our religious, political and economic life. It is not therefore merely confined to wearing on occasions a Swadeshi cloth. That we have to do for all time not out of a spirit of jealousy or revenge, but because it is a duty we owe to our dear country. We commit a breach of the Swadeshi spirit certainly if we wear foreign-made cloth, but we do so also if we adopt the foreign cut. Surely the style of our dress has some correspondence with our environment. In elegance and tastefulness it is immeasurably superior to the trousers and the jacket. An Indian wearing a shirt flowing over his pyjamas with a waist coat on it without a necktie and its flaps hanging loose behind is not a very graceful spectacle. Swadeshi in religion teaches one to measure the glorious past and re-enact it in the present generation. The pandemonium that is going on in Europe shows that modern civilization represents forces of evil

and darkness whereas the ancient *i e.*, Indian civilization, represents in its essence the divine force. Modern civilization is chiefly materialistic as ours is chiefly spiritual. Modern civilization occupies itself in the investigation of the laws of matter and employs the human ingenuity in inventing or discovering means of production and weapons of destruction; ours is chiefly occupied in exploring spiritual laws. Our Shastras lay down unequivocally that a proper observance of truth, chastity, scrupulous regard for all life, abstention from coveting others' possessions and refusal to hoard anything but what is necessary for our daily wants is indispensable for a right life; that without it a knowledge of the divine element is an impossibility. Our civilization tell us with daring certainty that a proper and perfect cultivation of the quality of *ahimsa* which in its active form means purest love and pity, brings the whole world to our feet. The author of this discovery gives a wealth of illustration, which carries conviction with it.

THE DOCTRINE OF AHIMSA

Examine its result in the political life. There is no gift so valued by our Shastra, as the gift of life. Consider what our relations would be with our rulers if we gave absolute security of life to them. If they could but feel that no matter what we might feel about their acts, we would hold their bodies as sacred as our own, there would immediately spring up an atmosphere of mutual trust and there would be such frankness on either side as to pave the way for an honourable and just solution of many problems that worry us to-day. It should be remembered that in practising *ahimsa* there need not be any reciprocation, though as a matter of fact in its final stages it commands reciprocation. Many of us believe, and I am

one of them, that through our civilization we have a message to deliver to the world. I tender my loyalty to the British Government quite selfishly. I would like to use the British race for transmitting this mighty message of *ahimsa* to the whole world. But that can only be done when we have conquered our so-called conquerors and you, my Arya Samaj friends, are perhaps specially elected for this mission. You claim to examine our scriptures critically. You take nothing for granted and you claim not to fear to reduce your belief to practice. I do not think that there is any room for trifling with or limiting the doctrine of *ahimsa*. You dare then to reduce it to practice regardless of immediate consequences which would certainly test the strength of your convictions. You would not only have procured salvation for India, but you would have rendered the noblest service that a man can render to humanity—a service moreover which you would rightly assert, the great Swami was born for. This Swadeshi is to be considered as a very active force to be ceaselessly employed with an ever-increasing vigilance, searching self-examination. It is not meant for the lazy, but it is essentially meant for them who would gladly lay down their lives for the sake of truth. It is possible to dilate upon several other phases of Swadeshi, but I think I have said enough to enable you to understand what I mean. I only hope that you who represent a school of reformers in India will not reject what I have said, without a thorough examination. And if my word has commended itself to you your past record entitles me to expect you, enforce in your own lives the things of eternity about which I have ventured to speak to you this afternoon and cover the whole of India with your activity.

WORK OF ARYA SAMAJ

In concluding my report of the above speech, I would like to state what I did not in speaking to that great audience and it is this. I have now twice visited the Gurukula. In spite of some vital differences with my brethren of the Arya Samaj, I have a sneaking regard for them, and it, and perhaps the best result of the activity of the Arya Samaj is to be seen in the establishment and the conduct of the Gurukula. Though it depends for its vitality entirely upon the inspiring presence of Mahatmaji Munshiram, it is truly a national and self-governing and self-governed institution. It is totally independent of Government aid or patronage. Its war chest is filled not out of monies received from the privileged few, but from the poor many who make it a point of honor from year to year to make a pilgrimage to Kangri and willingly give their mite for maintaining this National College. Here at every anniversary a huge crowd gathers and the manner in which it is handled, housed and fed evinces no mean power of organisation, but the most wonderful thing about it all is that the crowd consisting of about ten thousand men, women and children, is managed without the assistance of a single policeman and without any fuss or semblance of force, the only force that subsists between the crowd and the managers of the institution is that of love and mutual esteem. Fourteen years are nothing in the life of a big institution like this. What the collegiates who have been just turned out during the last two or three years will be able to show, remains to be seen. The public will not and cannot judge men or institutions except through the results that they show. It makes no allowance for failures. It is a most exacting judge. The final appeal

of the Gurukula as of all popular institutions must be to this judge. Great responsibility therefore rests upon the shoulders of the students who have been discharged from the College and who have entered upon the thorny path of life. Let them beware. Meanwhile those who are well-wishers of this great experiment may derive satisfaction from the fact that we have it as an indisputable rule of life, that as the tree is so will the fruit be. The tree looks lovely enough. He who waters it is a noble soul. Why worry about what the fruit is likely to be?

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING

As a lover of the Gurukula, I may be permitted to offer one or two suggestions to the committee and the parents. The Gurukula boys need a thorough industrial training if they are to become self-reliant and self-supporting. It seems to me that in our country in which 85 per cent. of the population is agricultural and perhaps 10 per cent. occupied in supplying the wants of the peasantry, it must be part of the training of every youth that he has a fair practical knowledge of agriculture and hand-weaving. He will lose nothing if he knows a proper use of tools, can saw a piece of board straight and build a wall that will not come down through a faulty handling of the plumber's line. A boy who is thus equipped, will never feel helpless in battling with the world and never be in want of employment. A knowledge of the laws of hygiene and sanitation as well as the art of rearing children should also form a necessary part of the Gurukula lads. The sanitary arrangements at the fair left much to be desired. The plague of flies told its own tale. These irrepressible sanitary inspectors incessantly warned us that in point of sanitation all was not well with us. They plainly suggested that the remains

of our food and excreta need to be properly buried. It seemed to me to be such a pity that a golden opportunity was being missed of giving to the annual visitors practical lessons on sanitation. But the work must begin with the boys. Then the management would have at the annual gathering three hundred practical sanitary teachers. Last but not least let the parents and the committee not spoil their lads by making them ape European dress or modern luxuries. These will hinder them in their after life and are antagonistic to Bramacharya. They have enough to fight against in the evil inclinations common to us all. Let us not make their fight more difficult by adding to their temptations.

SWADESHI

The following is an address delivered before the Missionary Conference, Madras, on the 14th February, 1916.

It was not without great diffidence that I undertook to speak to you at all. And I was hard put to it in the selection of my subject. I have chosen a very delicate and difficult subject. It is delicate because of the peculiar views I hold upon Swadeshi, and it is difficult because I have not that command of language which is necessary for giving adequate expression to my thoughts. I know that I may rely upon your indulgence for the many shortcomings you will no doubt find in my address, the more so when I tell you that there is nothing in what I am about to say that I am not either already practising or am not preparing to practise to the best of my ability. It encourages me to observe that last month you devoted a week to prayer in the place of an address. I have earnest-

ly prayed that what I am about to say may bear fruit and I know that you will bless my word with a similar prayer.

After much thinking I have arrived at a definition of Swadeshi that perhaps best illustrates my meaning. Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. Thus, as for religion, in order to satisfy the requirements of the definition, I must restrict myself to my ancestral religion. That is the use of my immediate religious surrounding. If I find it defective, I should serve it by purging it of its defects. In the domain of politics I should make use of the indigenous institutions and serve them by curing them of their proved defects. In that of economics I should use only things that are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting. It is suggested that such Swadeshi, if reduced to practice, will lead to the millennium. And as we do not abandon our pursuit after the millennium, because we do not expect quite to reach it within our times, so may we not abandon Swadeshi even though it may not be fully attained for generations to come.

Let us briefly examine the three branches of Swadeshi as sketched above. Hinduism has become a conservative religion and therefore a mighty force because of the Swadeshi spirit underlying it. It is the most tolerant because it is non-proselytising, and it is as capable of expansion to-day as it has been found to be in the past. It has succeeded not in driving out, as I think it has been erroneously held, but in absorbing Buddhism. By reason of the Swadeshi spirit, a Hindu refuses to change his religion, not necessarily because he considers it to be the

best, but because he knows that he can complement it by introducing reforms. And what I have said about Hinduism is, I suppose, true of the other great faiths of the world; only it is held that it is specially so in the case of Hinduism. But here comes the point I am labouring to reach. If there is any substance in what I have said, will not the great missionary bodies of India, to whom she owes a deep debt of gratitude for what they have done and are doing, do still better and serve the spirit of Christianity better by dropping the goal of proselytising while continuing their philanthropic work? I hope you will not consider this to be an impertinence on my part. I make the suggestion in all sincerity and with due humility. Moreover I have some claim upon your attention. I have endeavoured to study the Bible. I consider it as part of my scriptures. The spirit of the Sermon on the Mount competes almost on equal terms with the Bhagavad-Gita for the domination of my heart. I yield to no Christian in the strength of devotion with which I sing "Lead kindly light" and several other inspired hymns of a similar nature. I have come under the influence of noted Christian missionaries belonging to different denominations. And I enjoy to this day the privilege of friendship with some of them. You will perhaps therefore allow that I have offered the above suggestion not as a biased Hindu but as a humble and impartial student of religion with great leanings towards Christianity. May it not be that "Go ye unto all the world" message has been somewhat narrowly interpreted and the spirit of it missed? It will not be denied, I speak from experience, that many of the conversions are only so-called. In some cases the appeal has gone not to the heart but to the stomach. And in

every case a conversion leaves a sore behind it which, I venture to think, is avoidable. Quoting again from experience, a new birth, a change of heart, is perfectly possible in every one of the great faiths. I know I am now treading upon thin ice. But I do not apologise in closing this part of my subject, for saying that the frightful outrage that is just going on in Europe, perhaps shows that the message of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Peace, had been little understood in Europe, and that light upon it may have to be thrown from the East.

I have sought your help in religious matters, which it is yours to give in a special sense. But I make bold to seek it even in political matters. I do not believe that religion has nothing to do with politics. The latter divorced from religion is like a corpse only fit to be buried. As a matter of fact in your own silent manner you influence politics not a little. And I feel that if the attempt to separate politics from religion had not been made as it is even now made, they would not have degenerated as they often appear to have done. No one considers that the political life of the country is in a happy state. Following out the Swadeshi spirit, I observe the indigenous institutions and the village panchayats hold me. India is really a republican country, and it is because it is that that it has survived every shock hitherto delivered. Princes and potentates, whether they were Indian born or foreigners, have hardly touched the vast masses except for collecting revenue. The latter in their turn seem to have rendered unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's and for the rest have done much as they have liked. The vast organisation of caste answered not only the religious wants of the community, but it answered to its political needs. The villagers managed their internal affairs through the caste

system, and through it they dealt with any oppression from the ruling power or powers. It is not possible to deny of a nation that was capable of producing the caste system its wounderful power of organisation. One had but to attend the great Kumbha Mela at Hardwar last year to know how skilful that organisation must have been, which without any seeming effort was able effectively to cater for more than a million pilgrims. Yet it is the fashion to say that we lack organising ability. This is true, I fear, to a certain extent, of those who have been nurtured in the new traditions. We have laboured under a terrible handicap owing to an almost fatal departure from the Swadeshi spirit. We the educated classes have received our education through a foreign tongue. We have therefore not reacted upon the masses. We want to represent the masses, but we fail. They rocognise us not much more than they recognise the English officers. Their hearts are an open book to neither. Their aspirations are not ours. Hence there is a break. And you witness not in reality failure to organise but want of correspondence between the representatives and the represented. If during the last fifty years we had been educated through the vernaculars, our elders and our servants and our neighbours would have partaken of our knowledge; the discoveries of a Bose or a Ray would have been household treasures as are the Ramayan and the Mahabharat. As it is, so far as the masses are concerned, those great discoveries might as well have been made by foreigners. Had instruction in all the branches of learning been given through the vernaculars, I make bold to say that they would have been enriched wonderfully. The question of village sanitation, etc., would have been solved long ago. The village panchayats would be now a living force in a special

way, and India would almost be enjoying self-government suited to its requirements and would have been spared the humiliating spectacle of organised assassination on its sacred soil. It is not too late to mend. And you can help if you will, as no other body or bodies can.

And now for the last division of Swadeshi. Much of the deep poverty of the masses is due to the ruinous departure from Swadeshi in the economic and industrial life. If not an article of commerce had been brought from outside India, she would be to-day a land flowing with milk and honey. But that was not to be. We were greedy and so was England. The connection between England and India was based clearly upon an error. But she does not remain in India in error. It is her declared policy that India is to be held in trust for her people. If this be true, Lancashire must stand aside. And if the Swadeshi doctrine is a sound doctrine, Lancashire can stand aside without hurt though it may sustain a shock for the time being. I think of Swadeshi not as a boycott movement undertaken by way of revenge. I conceive it as a religious principle to be followed by all. I am no economist, but I have read some treatises which show that England could easily become a self-sustained country, growing all the produce she needs. This may be an utterly ridiculous proposition, and perhaps the best proof that it cannot be true is, that England is one of the largest importers in the world. But India cannot live for Lancashire or any other country before she is able to live for herself. And she can live for herself only if she produces and is helped to produce everything for her requirements within her own borders. She need not be, she ought not to be, drawn into the vertex of mad and ruinous competition which breeds fratricide, jealousy and many other evils

But who is to stop her great millionaires from entering into the world competition? Certainly not legislation. Force of public opinion, proper education, however, can do a great deal in the desired direction. The hand-loom industry is in a dying condition. I took special care during my wanderings last year to see as many weavers as possible, and my heart ached to find how they had lost, how families had retired from this once flourshing and honourable occupation. If we follow the Swadeshi doctrine, it would be your duty and mine to find out neighbours who can supply our wants and to teach them to supply them where they do not know how to proceed, assuming that there are neighbours who are in want of healthy occupation. Then every village of India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit, exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages where they are not locally producible. This may all sound nonsensical. Well, India is a country of nonsense. It is nonsensical to parch one's throat with thirst when a kindly Mahomedan is ready to offer pure water to drink. And yet thousands of Hindus would rather die of thirst than drink water from a Mahomedan household. These nonsensical men can also, once they are convinced that their religion demands that they should wear garments manufactured in India only and eat food only grown in India, decline to wear any other clothing or eat any other food. Lord Curzon set the fashion for tea-drinking. And that pernicious drug now bids fair to overwhelm the nation. It has already undermined the digestive apparatus of hundreds of thousands of men and women and constitutes an additional tax upon their slender purses. Lord Hardinge can set the fashion for Swadeshi, and almost the whole of India will forswear foreign goods. There is a verse in

the Bhagavat Gita, which, freely rendered, means masses follow the classes. It is easy to undo the evil if the thinking portion of the community were to take the Swadeshi vow even though it may for a time cause considerable inconvenience. I hate legislative interference, in any department of life. At best it is the lesser evil. But I would tolerate, welcome, indeed, plead for a stiff protective duty upon foreign goods. Natal, a British colony, protected its sugar by taxing the sugar that came from another British colony, Mauritius. England has sinned against India by forcing free trade upon her. It may have been food for her, but it has been poison for this country.

It has often been urged that India cannot adopt Swadeshi in the economic life at any rate. Those who advance this objection do not look upon Swadeshi as a rule of life. With them it is a mere patriotic effort not to be made if it involved any self-denial. Swadeshi, as defined here, is a religious discipline to be undergone in utter disregard of the physical discomfort it may cause to individuals. Under its spell the deprivation of a pin or a needle, because these are not manufactured in India, need cause no terror. A Swadeshist will learn to do without hundreds of things which to-day he considers necessary. Moreover, those who dismiss Swadeshi from their minds by arguing the impossible forget that Swadeshi after all is a goal to be reached by steady effort. And we would be making for the goal even if we confined Swadeshi to a given set of articles allowing ourselves as a temporary measure to use such things as might not be procurable in the country.

There now remains for me to consider one more objection that has been raised against Swadeshi. The objectors consider it to be a most selfish doctrine without any

warrant in the civilized code of morality. With them to practice Swadeshi is to revert to barbarism. I cannot enter into a detailed analysis of the proposition. But I would urge that Swadeshi is the only doctrine consistent with the law of humility and love. It is arrogance to think of launching out to serve the whole of India when I am hardly able to serve even my own family. It were better to concentrate my effort upon the family and consider that through them I was serving the whole nation and if you will the whole of humanity. This is humility and it is love. The motive will determine the quality of the act. I may serve my family regardless of the sufferings I may cause to others. As for instance, I may accept an employment which enables me to extort money from people, I enrich myself thereby and then satisfy many unlawful demands of the family. Here I am neither serving the family nor the State. Or I may recognise that God has given me hands and feet only to work with for my sustenance and for that of those who may be dependent upon me. I would then at once simplify my life and that of those whom I can directly reach. In this instance I would have served the family without causing injury to anyone else. Supposing that every one followed this mode of life, we should have at once an ideal state. All will not reach that state at the same time. But those of us who, realising its truth, enforce it in practice will clearly anticipate and accelerate the coming of that happy day. Under this plan of life, in seeming to serve India to the exclusion of every other country, I do not harm any other country. My patriotism is both exclusive and inclusive. It is exclusive in the sense that in all humility I confine my attention to the land of my birth, but it is inclusive in the sense that my service is not of a competitive

or antagonistic nature. *Sic utere tuo ut alienum non la* is not merely a legal maxim, but it is a grand doctrine of life. It is the key to a proper practice of *Ahimsa* or love. It is for you, the custodians of a great faith, to set the fashion and show by your preaching, sanctified by practice, that patriotism based on hatred "killeth" and that patriotism based on love "giveth life."

AHIMSA

The following letter from the pen of Mr. M. K. Gandhi appeared in The Modern Review, for October 1916.

There seems to be no historical warrant for the belief that an exaggerated practice of Ahimsa synchronised with our becoming bereft of manly virtues. During the past 1,500 years we have, as a nation, given ample proof of physical courage, but we have been torn by internal dissensions and have been dominated by love of self instead of love of country. We have, that is to say, been swayed by the spirit of irreligion rather than of religion.

I do not know how far the charge of unmanliness can be made good against the Jains. I hold no brief for them. By birth I am a Vaishnavite, and was taught Ahimsa in my childhood. I have derived much religious benefit from Jain religious works as I have from scriptures of the other great faiths of the world. I owe much to the living company of the deceased philosopher, Rajachand Kavi, who was a Jain by birth. Thus, though my views on Ahimsa are a result of my study of most of the faiths of the world, they are now no longer dependent upon the authority of these works. They are a part of my life, and if I suddenly discovered that the religious books read by me bore a different interpretation from the one I had

learnt to give them, I should still hold to the view of Ahimsa as I am about to set forth here.

Our Shastras seem to teach that a man who really practises Ahimsa in its fulness has the world at his feet; he so affects his surroundings that even the snakes and other venomous reptiles do him no harm. This is said to have been the experience of St. Francis of Assisi.

In its negative form it means not injuring any living being whether by body or mind. It may not, therefore, hurt the person of any wrong-doer, or bear any ill-will to him and so cause him mental suffering. This statement does not cover suffering caused to the wrong-doer by natural acts of mine which do not proceed from ill-will. It, therefore, does not prevent me from withdrawing from his presence a child whom he, we shall imagine, is about to strike. Indeed, the proper practice of Ahimsa *requires* me to withdraw the intended victim from the wrong-doer, if I am in any way whatsoever the guardian of such a child. It was, therefore, most proper for the passive resisters of South Africa to have resisted the evil that the Union Government sought to do to them. They bore no ill-will to it. They showed this by helping the Government whenever it needed their help. *Their resistance consisted of disobedience of the orders of the Government, even to the extent of suffering death at their hands.* Ahimsa requires deliberate self-suffering, not a deliberate injuring of the supposed wrong-doer.

In its positive form, Ahimsa means the largest love, the greatest charity. If I am a follower of Ahimsa, I *must love* my enemy. I must apply the same rules to the wrong-doer who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrong-doing father or son. This active Ahimsa necessarily includes truth and fearlessness. As

man cannot deceive the loved one, he does not fear or frighten him or her. Gift of life is the greatest of all gifts; a man who gives it in reality, disarms all hostility. He has paved the way for an honourable understanding. And none who is himself subject to fear can bestow that gift. He must, therefore, be himself fearless. A man cannot then practice Ahimsa and be a coward at the same time. The practice of Ahimsa calls forth the greatest courage. It is the most soldierly of a soldier's virtues. General Gordon has been represented in a famous statue as bearing only a stick. This takes us far on the road to Ahimsa. But a soldier, who needs the protection of even a stick, is to that extent so much the less a soldier. He is the true soldier who knows how to die and stand his ground in the midst of a hail of bullets. Such a one was Ambarish, who stood his ground without lifting a finger though Durvasa did his worst. The Moors who were being pounded by the French gunners and who rushed to the guns' mouths with 'Allah' on their lips, showed much the same type of courage. Only theirs was the courage of desperation. Ambarisha's was due to love. Yet the Moorish valour, readiness to die, conquered the gunners. They frantically waved their hats, ceased firing, and greeted their erstwhile enemies as comrades. And so the South African passive resisters in their thousands were ready to die rather than sell their honour for a little personal ease. This was Ahimsa in its active form. It *never* barters away honour. A helpless girl in the hands of a follower of Ahimsa finds better and surer protection than in the hands of one who is prepared to defend her only to the point to which his weapons would carry him. The tyrant, in the first instance, will have to walk to his victim over the dead body of her defender; in the second, he has but

to overpower the defender; for it is assumed that the cannon of propriety in the second instance will be satisfied which the defender has fought to the extent of his physical valour. In the first instance, as the defender has matched his very soul against the mere body of the tyrant, the odds are that the soul in the latter will be awakened, and the girl would stand an infinitely greater chance of her honour being protected than in any other conceivable circumstance, barring, of course, that of her own personal courage.

If we are unmanly to-day, we are so, not because we do not know how to strike, but because we fear to die. He is no follower of Mahavira, the apostle of Jainism, or of Buddha or of the Vedas, who, being afraid to die, takes flight before any danger, real or imaginary, all the while wishing that somebody else would remove the danger by destroying the person causing it. He is no follower of Ahimsa who does not care a straw if he kills a man by inches by deceiving him in trade, or who would protect by force of arms a few cows and make away with the butcher or who in order to do a supposed good to his country, does not mind killing off a few officials. All these are actuated by hatred, cowardice and fear. Here the love of the cow or the country is a vague thing intended to satisfy one's vanity, or soothe a stinging conscience.

Ahimsa, truly understood, is, in my humble opinion a panacea for all evils mundane and extra-mundane. We can never overdo it. Just at present we are not doing it at all. Ahimsa does not displace the practice of other virtues, but renders their practice imperatively necessary before it can be practised even in its rudiments. Mahavira and Buddha were soldiers, and so was Tolstoy. Only they saw deeper and truer into their profession, and found the secret of a true, happy, honourable and godly life. Let us be joint sharers with these teachers, and this land of ours will once more be the abode of Gods.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS *v.* MORAL PROGRESS

The following is a lecture delivered by Mr. Gandhi at a meeting of the Muir Central College Economic Society, held at Allahabad, on Friday, 22*nd December*, 1916.

Does economic progress clash with real progress? By economic progress, I take it, we mean material advancement without limit, and by real progress we mean moral progress, which again is the same thing as progress of the permanent element in us. The subject may therefore be stated thus; Does not moral progress increase in the same proportion as material progress? I know that this is a wider proposition than the one before us. But I venture to think that we always mean the large one even when we lay down the smaller. For we know enough of science to realize that there is no such thing as perfect rest or repose in this visible universe of ours. If therefore material progress does not clash with moral progress, it must necessarily advance the latter. Nor can we be satisfied with the clumsy way in which sometimes those who cannot defend the larger proposition put their case. They seem to be obsessed with the concrete case of thirty millions of India, stated by the late Sir William Wilson Hunter, to be living on one meal a day. They say that before we can think or talk of their moral welfare, we must satisfy their daily wants. With these, they say, material progress spells moral progress. And then is taken a sudden jump; what is true of thirty millions is true of the universe. They forget that hard cases make bad law. I need hardly say to you how ludicrously absurd this deduction would be.

No one has ever suggested that grinding pauperism can lead to anything else than moral degradation. Every human being has a right to live and therefore to find the wherewithal to feed himself and where necessary to clothe and house himself. But for this very simple performance we need no assistance from economists or their laws.

'Take no thought for the morrow' is an injunction which finds an echo in almost all the religious scriptures of the world. In well-ordered society the securing of one's livelihood should be and is found to be the easiest thing in the world. Indeed, the test of orderliness in a country is not the number of millionares it owns, but the absence of starvation among its masses. The only statement that has to be examined is, whether it can be laid down as a law of universal application that material advancement means moral progress.

Now let us take a few illustrations. Rome suffered a moral fall when it attained high material affluence. So did Egypt and so perhaps most countries of which we have any historical record. The descendants and kinsmen of the royal and divine Krishna too fell when they were rolling in riches. We do not deny to the Rockefellers and the Carnegies possession of an ordinary measure of morality but we gladly judge them indulgently. I mean that we do not even expect them to satisfy the highest standard of morality. With them material gain has not necessarily meant moral gain. In South Africa, where I had the privilege of associating with thousands of our countrymen on most intimate terms, I observed almost invariably that the greater the possession of riches, the greater was their moral turpitude. Our rich men, to say the least, did not advance the moral struggle of passive

resistance as did the poor. The rich men's sense of self-respect was not so much injured as that of the poorest. If I were not afraid of treading on dangerous ground, I would even come nearer home and show how that possession of riches has been a hindrance to real growth. I venture to think that the scriptures of the world are far safer and sounder treatises on laws of economics than many of the modern text-books. The question we are asking ourselves this evening is not a new one. It was addressed of Jesus two thousand years ago. St Mark has vividly described the scene. Jesus is in his solemn mood. He is earnest. He talks of eternity. He knows the world about him. He is himself the greatest economist of his time. He succeeded in economising time and space—he transcended them. It is to him at his best that one comes running, kneels down, and asks; 'Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?' And Jesus said unto him: 'Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, that is God. Thou knowest the commandments. Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honour thy father and mother.' And he answered and said unto him: 'Master, all these have I observed from my youth.' Then Jesus beholding him loved him and said unto him: One thing thou lackest. Go thy way, sell whatever thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shall have treasure in heaven—come, take up the cross and follow me.' And he was sad at that saying and went away grieved—for he had great possession. And Jesus looked round about and said unto his disciple: 'How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God.' And the disciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus answereth again and said unto them, 'Children,

how hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God!.' Here you have an eternal rule of life stated in the noblest words the English language is capable of producing. But the disciples nodded unbelief as we do even to this day. To him they said as we say to-day: 'But look how the law fails in practice. If we sell all and have nothing, we shall have nothing to eat. We must have money or we cannot even be reasonably moral.' So they state their case thus:—'And they were astonished out of measure, saying among themselves: Who then can be saved.' And Jesus looking upon them said: 'With men it is impossible but not with God, for with God, all things are possible. Then Peter began to say unto him: 'Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee.' And Jesus answered and said: 'Verily I say unto you there is no man that has left house or brethren or sisters, or father or mother, or wife or children or lands for my sake and Gospel's but he shall receive one hundredfold, now in this time houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and land, and in the world to come enternal life. But many that are first shall be last and the last first.' You have here the result or reward, if you prefer the term, of following the law. I have not taken the trouble of copying similar passages from the other non-Hindu scriptures and I will not insult you by quoting in support of the law stated by Jesus passages from the writings and sayings of our own sages, passages even stronger if possible than the Biblical extracts I have drawn your attention to. Perhaps the strongest of all the testimonies in favour of the affirmative answer to the question before us are the lives of the

greatest teachers of the world. Jesus, Mahomed, Buddha, Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya, Shankara, Dayanand, Ramkrishna were men who exercised an immense influence over and moulded the character of thousands of men. The world is the richer for their having lived in it. And they were all men who deliberately embraced poverty as their lot.

I should not have laboured my point as I have done, if I did not believe that, in so far as we have made the modern materialistic craze our goal, so far are we going down hill in the path of progress. I hold that economic progress in the sense I have put it is antagonistic to real progress. Hence the ancient ideal has been the limitation of activities promoting wealth. This does not put an end to all material ambition. We should still have, as we have always had, in our midst people who make the pursuit of wealth their aim in life. But we have always recognised that it is a fall from the ideal. It is a beautiful thing to know that the wealthiest among us have often felt that to have remained voluntarily poor would have been a higher state for them. That you cannot serve God and Mammon is an economic truth of the highest value. We have to make our choice. Western nations are to-day groaning under the heel of the monster god of materialism. Their moral growth has become stunted. They measure their progress in £. s. d. American wealth has become the standard. She is the envy of the other nations. I have heard many of our countrymen say that we will gain American wealth but avoid its methods. I venture to suggest that such an attempt, if it were made, is foredoomed to failure. We cannot be 'wise, temperate and furious' in a

moment. I would have our leaders teach us to be morally supreme in the world. This land of ours was once, we are told, the abode of the Gods. It is not possible to conceive Gods inhabiting a land which is made hideous by the smoke and the din of mill chimneys and factories and whose roadways are traversed by rushing engines, dragging numerous cars crowded with men who know not for the most part what they are after, who are often absent-minded, and whose tempers do not improve by being uncomfortably packed like sardines in boxes and finding themselves in the midst of utter strangers, who would oust them if they could and whom they would in their turn oust similarly. I refer to these things because they are held to be symbolical of material progress. But they add not an atom to our happiness. This is what Wallace, the great scientist, has said as his deliberate judgment. 'In the earliest records which have come down to us from the past, we find ample indications that general ethical considerations and conceptions, the accepted standard of morality, and the conduct resulting from these, were in no degree inferior to those which prevail to-day." In a series of chapters he then proceeds to examine the position of the English nation under the advance in wealth it has made. He says: 'This rapid growth of wealth and increase of our power over Nature put too great a strain upon our crude civilisation, on our superficial Christianity, and it was accompanied by various forms of social immorality almost as amazing and unprecedented. He then shows how factories have risen on the corpses of men, women and children, how as the country has rapidly advanced in riches, it has gone down in morality. He shows this by dealing with insanitation, life destroying trades, adulteration, bribery and gambling. He shows how with the advance of wealth, justice has become

immoral, deaths from alcoholism and suicide have increased, the average of premature births, and congenital defects has increased and prostitution has become an institution. He concludes his examination by these pregnant remarks :—

"The proceedings of the divorce Courts show other aspects of the result of wealth and leisure, while a friend who had been a good deal in London society assured me that both in country houses and in London various kinds of orgies were occasionally to be met with, which would hardly have been surpassed in the period of the most dissolute emperors. Of war, too, I need say nothing. It has always been more or less chronic since the rise of the Roman Empire; but there is now undoubtedly a disinclination for war among all civilized peoples. Yet the vast burden of armaments taken together with the most pious declarations in favour of peace, must be held to show an almost total absence of morality as a guiding principle among the governing classes."

Under the British ægis we have learnt much, but it is my firm belief that there is little to gain from Britain in intrinsic morality, that if we are not careful, we shall introduce all the vices that she has been a prey to owing to the disease of materialism. We can profit by that connection only if we keep our civilization, and our morals straight, *i.e.*, if, instead of boasting of the glorious past, we express the ancient moral glory in our own lives and let our lives bear witness to our boast. Then we shall benefit her and ourselves. If we copy her because she provides us with rulers, both they and we shall suffer degradation. We need not be afraid of ideals or of reducing them to practice even to the uttermost. Ours will only then be a truly spiritual nation when we shall show more truth than

gold, greater fearlessness than pomp of power and wealth, greater charity than love of self. If we will but clean our houses, our palaces and temples of the attributes of wealth and show in them the attributes of morality, we can offer battle to any combinations of hostile forces without having to carry the burden of a heavy militia. Let us seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousnes, and the irrevocable promise is that everything will be added unto us. These are real economics. May you and I treasure them and enforce them in our daily life.

THE MORAL BASIS OF CO-OPERATION

The following is a paper contributed to the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference held on 17th September, 1917.

The only claim I have on your indulgence is that some months ago I attended with Mr. Ewbank a meeting of mill-hands to whom he wanted to explain the principles of co-operation. The chawl in which they were living was as filthy as it well could be. Recent rains had made matters worse. And I must frankly confess that had it not been for Mr. Ewbank's great zeal for the cause he has made his own, I should have shirked the task. But there we were, seated on a fairly worn out *charpai*, surrounded by men, women and children. Mr. Ewbank opened fire on a man who had put himself forward and who wore not a particularly innocent countenance. After he had engaged him and the other people about him in Gujarati conversation, he wanted me to speak to the people. Owing to the suspicious looks of the man who was first spoken to, I naturally pressed home the moralities of co-operation. I ancy that Mr. Ewbank rather liked the manner in which

I handled the subject. Hence, I believe, his kind invitation to me to tax your patience for a few moments upon a consideration of co-operation from a moral standpoint.

My knowledge of the technicality of co-operation is next to nothing. My brother, Devadhar, has made the subject his own. Whatever he does, naturally attracts me and predisposes me to think that there must be something good in it and the handling of it must be fairly difficult. Mr. Ewbank very kindly placed at my disposal some literature too on the subject. And I have had an unique opportunity of watching the effect of some co-operative effort in Champaran. I have gone through Mr. Ewbank's ten main points which are like the Commandments, and I have gone through the twelve points of Mr. Collins of Behar, which remind me of the law of the Twelve Tables. There are so-called agricultural banks in Champaran. They were to me disappointing efforts, if they were meant to be demonstrations of the success of co-operation. On the other hand, there is quiet work in the same direction being done by Mr. Hodge, a missionary whose efforts are leaving their impress on those who come in contact with him. Mr. Hodge is a co-operative enthusiast and probably considers that the result which he sees flowing from his efforts are due to the working of co-operation. I who was able to watch the two efforts had no hesitation in inferring that the personal equation counted for success in the one and failure in the other instance.

I am an enthusiast myself, but twenty-five years of experimenting and experience have made me a cautious and discriminating enthusiast. Workers in a cause necessarily, though quite unconsciously, exaggerate its merits and often succeed in turning its very defects into advantages. In spite of my caution I consider the little institu-

tion I am conducting in Ahmedabad as the finest thing in the world. It alone gives me sufficient inspiration. Critics tell me that it represents a soulless soul-force and that its severe discipline has made it merely mechanical. I suppose both—the critics and I—are wrong. It is, at best, a humble attempt to place at the disposal of the nation a home where men and women may have scope for free and unfettered development of character, in keeping with the national genius, and if its controllers do not take care, the discipline that is the foundation of character, may frustrate the very end in view. I would venture, therefore, to warn enthusiasts in co-operation against entertaining false hopes.

With Sir Daniel Hamilton it has become a religion. On the 13th January last, he addressed the students of the Scottish Churches College, and in order to point a moral he instanced Scotland's poverty of two hundred years ago and showed how that great country was raised from a condition of poverty to plenty. "There were two powers, which raised her—the Scottish Church and the Scottish banks. The Church manufactured the men and the banks manufactured the money to give the men a start in life. . . . The Church disciplined the nation in the fear of God which is the beginning of wisdom and in the parish schools of the Church the children learned that the chief end of man's life was to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever. Men were trained to believe in God and in themselves, and on the trustworthy character so created the Scottish banking system was built." Sir Daniel then shows that it was possible to build up the marvellous Scottish banking system only on the character so built. So far there can only be perfect agreement with Sir Daniel, for that 'without character

there is no co-operation' is a sound maxim. But he would have us go much further. He thus waxes eloquent on co-operation: "Whatever may be your day-dreams of India's future never forget this that it is to weld India into one, and so enable her to take her rightful place in the world, that the British Government is here; and the welding hammer in the hand of the Government is the co-operative movement." In his opinion it is the panacea of all the evils that afflict India at the present moment. In its extended sense it can justify the claim on one condition which need not be mentioned here; in the limited sense in which Sir Daniel has used it, I venture to think, it is an enthusiast's exaggeration. Mark his peroration: "Credit, which is only Trust and Faith, is becoming more and more the money power of the world, and in the parchment bullet into which is impressed the faith which removes mountains, India will find victory and peace." Here there is evident confusion of thought. The credit which is becoming the money power of the world has little moral basis and is not a synonym for Trust or Faith, which are purely moral qualities. After twenty years' experience of hundreds of men, who had dealings with banks in South Africa, the opinion I had so often heard expressed has become firmly rooted in me, that the greater the rascal the greater the credit he enjoys with his banks. The banks do not pry into his moral character: they are satisfied that he meets his overdrafts and promissory notes punctually. The credit system has encircled this beautiful globe of ours like a serpent's coil, and if we do not mind, it bids fair to crush us out of breath. I have witnessed the ruin of many a home through the system, and it has made no difference whether the credit was labelled co-operative or otherwise. The deadly coil has made possible the

devastating spectacle in Europe, which we are helplessly looking on. It was perhaps never so true as it is to-day that as in law so in war the longest purse finally wins. I have ventured to give prominence to the current belief about credit system in order to emphasise the point that the co-operative movement will be a blessing to India only to the extent that it is a moral movement strictly directed by men fired with religious fervour. It follows, therefore, that co-operation should be confined to men wishing to be morally right, but failing to do so, because of grinding poverty or of the grip of the Mahajan. Facility for obtaining loans at fair rates will not make immoral men moral. But the wisdom of the Estate or philanthropists demands that they should help, on the onward path, men struggling to be good.

Too often do we believe that material prosperity means moral growth. It is necessary that a movement which is fraught with so much good to India should not degenerate into one for merely advancing cheap loans. I was therefore delighted to read the recommendation in the Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India, that "they wish clearly to express their opinion that it is to true co-operation, alone, that is, to a co-operation which recognizes the moral aspect of the question that Government must look for the amelioration of the masses and not to a pseudo-co-operative edifice, however imposing, which is built in ignorance of co-operative principles." With this standard before us, we will not measure the success of the movement by the number of co-operative societies formed, but by the moral condition of the co-operators. The Registrars will in that event ensure the moral growth of existing societies before multiplying them. And the Government will make their promotion conditional, not upon the number of socie-

ties they have registered, but the moral success of the existing institutions. This will mean tracing the course of every pie lent to the members. Those responsible for the proper conduct of co-operative societies will see to it that the money advanced does not find its way into the toddy-seller's bill or into the pockets of the keepers of gambling dens. I would excuse the rapacity of the Mahajan if it has succeeded in keeping the gambling die or toddy from the ryot's home.

A word perhaps about the Mahajan will not be out of place. Co-operation is not a new device. The ryots co-operate to drum out monkeys or birds that destroy their crops. They co-operate to use a common thrashing floor. I have found them co-operate to protect their cattle to the extent of their devoting the best land for the grazing of their cattle. And they have been found co-operating against a particularly rapacious Mahajan. Doubts have been expressed as to the succees of co-operation because of the tightness of the Mahajan's hold on the ryots. I do not share the fears. The mightiest Mahajan must, if he represent an evil force, bend before co-operation, conceived as an essentially moral movement. But my limited experience of the Mahajan of Champaran has made me revise the accepted opinion about his 'blighting influence.' I have found him to be not always relentless, not always exacting of the last pie. He sometimes serves his clients in many ways and even comes to their rescue in the hour of their distress. My observation is so limited that I dare not draw any conclusions from it, but I respectfully enquire whether it is not possible to make a serious effort to draw out the good in the Mahajan and help him or induce him to throw out the evil in him. May he not be induced to join the army

of co-operation, or has experience proved that he is past praying for?

I note that the movement takes note of all indigenous industries. I beg publicly to express my gratitude to Government for helping me in my humble effort to improve the lot of the weaver. The experiment I am conducting shows that there is a vast field for work in this direction. No well-wisher of India, no patriot dare look upon the impending destruction of the hand-loom weaver with equanimity. As Dr. Mann has stated, this industry used to supply the peasant with an additional source of livelihood and an insurance against famine. Every Registrar who will nurse back to life this important and graceful industry will earn the gratitude of India. My humble effort consists firstly in making researches as to the possibilities of simple reforms in the orthodox hand-looms, secondly in weaning the educated youth from the craving for Government or other services and the feeling that education renders him unfit for independent occupation and inducing him to take to weaving as a calling as honourable as that of a barrister or a doctor, and thirdly by helping those weavers who have abandoned their occupation to revert to it. I will not weary the audience with any statement on the first two parts of the experiment. The third may be allowed a few sentences as it has a direct bearing upon the subject before us. I was able to enter upon it only six months ago. Five families that had left off the calling have reverted to it and they are doing a prosperous business. The Ashram supplies them at their door with the yarn they need; its volunteers take delivery of the cloth woven, paying them cash at the market rate. The Ashram merely loses interest on the loan advanced for the yarn. It has as yet suffered no loss

and is able to restrict its loss to a minimum by limiting the loan to a particular figure. All future transactions are strictly cash. We are able to command a ready sale for the cloth received. The loss of interest, therefore, on the transaction is negligible. I would like the audience to note its purely moral character from start to finish. The Ashram depends for its existence on such help as *friends* render it. We, therefore, can have no warrant for charging interest. The weavers could not be saddled with it. Whole families that were breaking to pieces are put together again. The use of the loan is pre-determined. And we the middle-men being volunteers obtain the privilege of entering into the lives of these families, I hope for their and our betterment. We cannot lift them without being lifted ourselves. This last relationship has not yet been developed, but we hope at an early date to take in hand the education too of these families and not rest satisfied till we have touched them at every point. This is not too ambitious a dream. God willing, it will be a reality some day. I have ventured to dilate upon the small experiment to illustrate what I mean by co-operation to present it to others for imitation. Let us be sure of our ideal. We shall ever fail to realize it, but we should never cease to strive for it. Then there need be no fear of "co-operation of scoundrels" that Ruskin so rightly dreaded.

THIRD CLASS IN INDIAN RAILWAYS

The following communication was made by Mr. Gandhi to the Press from Ranchi, on Sept. 25, 1917.

I have now been in India for over two years and a half after my return from South Africa. Over one quarter of that time I have passed on the Indian trains travelling third class by choice. I have travelled up north as far as Lahore, down south up to Tranquebar, and from Karachi to Calcutta. Having resorted to third class travelling among other reasons for the purpose of studying the conditions under which this class of passengers travel I have naturally made as critical observations as I could. I have fairly covered the majority of railway systems during this period. Now and then I have entered into correspondence with the management of the different railways about the defects that have come under my notice. But I think that the time has come when I should invite the press and the public to join in a crusade against a grievance which has too long remained unredressed, though much of it is capable of redress without great difficulty.

On the 12th instant I booked at Bombay for Madras by the mail train and paid Rs. 13-9. It was labelled to carry 22 passengers. These could only have seating accommodation. There were no bunks in this carriage whereon passengers could lie with any degree of safety or comfort. There were two nights to be passed in this train before reaching Madras. If not more than 22 passengers found their way into my carriage before we reached Poona, it was because the bolder ones kept the

others at bay. With the exception of two or three insistent passengers, all had to find their sleep being seated all the time. After reaching Raichur the pressure became unbearable. The rush of passengers could not be stayed. The fighters among us found the task almost beyond them. The guards or other railway servants came in only to push in more passengers.

A defiant Memon merchant protested against this packing of passengers like sardines. In vain did he say that this was his fifth night on the train. The guard insulted him and referred him to the management at the terminus. There were during this night as many as 35 passengers in the carriage during the greater part of it. Some lay on the floor in the midst of dirt and some had to keep standing. A free fight was at one time avoided only by the intervention of some of the older passengers who did not want to add to the discomfort by an exhibition of temper.

On the way passengers got for tea tannin-water with filthy sugar and a whitish looking liquid miscalled milk which gave this water a muddy appearance. I can vouch for the appearance, but I cite the testimony of the passengers as to the taste.

Not during the whole of the journey was the compartment once swept or cleaned. The result was that every time you walked on the floor or rather cut your way through the passengers seated on the floor, you waded through dirt.

The closet was also not cleaned during the journey and there was no water in the water tank.

Refreshments sold to the passengers were dirty-looking, handed by dirtier hands, coming out of filthy receptacles and weighed in equally unattractive scales. These were

previously sampled by millions of flies. I asked some of the passengers who went in for these dainties to give their opinion. Many of them used choice expressions as to the quality but were satisfied to state that they were helpless in the matter; they had to take things as they came.

On reaching the station I found that the ghari-wala would not take me unless I paid the fare he wanted. I mildly protested and told him I would pay him the authorized fare. I had to turn passive resister before I could be taken. I simply told him he would have to pull me out of the ghari or call the policeman.

The return journey was performed in no better manner. The carriage was packed already and but for a friend's intervention I could not have been able to secure even a seat. My admission was certainly beyond the authorized number. This compartment was constructed to carry 9 passengers but it had constantly 12 in it. At one place an important railway servant swore at a protestant, threatened to strike him and locked the door over the passengers whom he had with difficulty squeezed in. To this compartment there was a closet falsely so called. It was designed as a European closet but could hardly be used as such. There was a pipe in it but no water, and I say without fear of challenge that it was pestilentially dirty.

The compartment itself was evil looking. Dirt was lying thick upon the wood work and I do not know that it had ever seen soap or water.

The compartment had an exceptional assortment of passengers. There were three stalwart Punjabi Mahomedans, two refined Tamilians and two Mahomedan merchants who joined us later. The merchants related t e

bribes they had to give to procure comfort. One of the Punjabis had already travelled three nights and was weary and fatigued. But he could not stretch himself. He said he had sat the whole day at the Central Station watching passengers giving bribe to procure their tickets. Another said he had himself to pay Rs. 5 before he could get his ticket and his seat. These three men were bound for Ludhiana and had still more nights of travel in store for them.

What I have described is not exceptional but normal. I have got down at Raichur, Dhond, Sonepur, Chakradharpur, Purulia, Asansol and other junction stations and been at the 'Mosafirkhanas' attached to these stations. They are discreditable looking places where there is no order, no cleanliness but utter confusion and horrible din and noice. Passengers have no benches or not enough to sit on. They squat on dirty floors and eat dirty food. They are permitted to throw the leavings of their food and spit where they like, sit how they like and smoke everywhere. The closets attached to these places defy description. I have not the power adequately to describe them without committing a breach of the laws of decent speech. Disinfecting powder, ashes or disinfecting fluids are unknown. The army of flies buzzing about them warns you against their use. But a third-class traveller is dumb and helpless. He does not want to complain even though to go to these places may be to court death. I know passengers who fast while they are travelling just in order to lessen the misery of their life in the trains. At Sonepur flies having failed, wasps have come forth to warn the public and the authorities, but yet to no purpose. At the Imperial Capital a certain third class booking office is a Black-Hole fit only to be destroyed.

Is it any wonder that plague has become endemic in India? Any other result is impossible where passengers always leave some dirt where they go and take more on leaving?

On Indian trains alone passengers smoke with impunity in all carriages irrespective of the presence of the fair sex and irrespective of the protest of non-smokers. And this, notwithstanding a bye-law which prevents a passenger from smoking without the permission of his fellows in a compartment which is not allotted to smokers.

The existence of the awful war cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the removal of this gigantic evil. War can be no warrant for tolerating dirt and overcrowding. One could understand an entire stoppage of passenger traffic in a crisis like this, but never a continuation or accentuation of insanitation and conditions that must undermine health and morality.

Compare the lot of the first class passengers with that of the third class. In the Madras case the first class fare is over five times as much as the third class fare. Does the third class passenger get one-fifth, even one-tenth, of the comforts of his first class fellow? It is but simple justice to claim that some relative proportion be observed between the cost and comfort.

It is a known fact that the third class traffic pays for the ever-increasing luxuries of first and second class travelling. Surely a third class passenger is entitled at least to the bare necessities of life.

In neglecting the third class passengers, opportunity of giving a splendid education to millions in orderliness, sanitation, decent composite life and cultivation of simple and clean tastes is being lost. Instead of receiving an object lesson in these matters third class passengers have

their sense of decency and cleanliness blunted during their travelling experience.

Among the many suggestions that can be made for dealing with the evil here described, I would respectfully include this : Let the people in high places, the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, the Rajas, Maharajas, the Imperial Councillors and others, who generally travel in superior classes, without previous warning, go through the experiences now and then of third class travelling. We would then soon see a remarkable change in the conditions of third class travelling and the uncomplaining millions will get some return for the fares they pay under the expectation of being carried from place to place with ordinary creature comforts.

VERNACULARS AS MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION

The following introduction was written by Mr, M. K. Gandhi to Dr. P. J. Mehta's "Self-Government Series." Pamphlet No. 1, entitled "Vernaculars as Media of Instruction in Indian Schools and Colleges."

It is to be hoped that Dr. Mehta's labour of love will receive the serious attention of English educated India. The following pages were written by him for the *Vedanta Kesari* of Madras and are now printed in their present form for circulation throughout India. The question of vernaculars as media of instruction is of national importance ; neglect of the vernaculars means national suicide. One hears many protagonists of the English language being continued as the medium of instruction pointing to the fact that english Educated Indians are the sole custodians of public and patriotic work. It would be mons-

trous if it were not so. For the only education given in this country is through the English language. The fact, however, is that the results are not at all proportionate to the time we give to our education. We have not reacted on the masses. But I must not anticipate Dr. Mehta. He is in earnest. He writes feelingly. He has examined the pros and cons and collected a mass of evidence in support of his arguments. The latest pronouncement on the subject is that of the Viceroy. Whilst His Excellency is unable to offer a solution, he is keenly alive to the necessity of imparting instruction in our schools through the vernaculars. The Jews of Middle and Eastern Europe, who are scattered in all parts of the world, finding it necessary to have a common tongue for mutual intercourse, have raised Yiddish to the status of a language, and have succeeded in translating into Yiddish the best books to be found in the world's literature. Even they could not satisfy the soul's yearning through the many foreign tongues of which they are masters; nor did the learned few among them wish to tax the masses of the Jewish population with having to learn a foreign language before they could realise their dignity. So they have enriched what was at one time looked upon as a mere jargon—but what the Jewish children learnt from their mothers—by taking special pains to translate into it the best thought of the world. This is a truly marvellous work. It has been done during the present generation, and Webster's Dictionary defines it as a polyglot jargon used for inter-communication by Jews from different nations.

But a Jew of Middle and Eastern Europe would feel insulted if his mother-tongue were now so described. If these Jewish scholars have succeeded, within a generation, in giving their masses a language of which they may

feel proud, surely it should be an easy task for us to supply the needs of our own vernaculars which are cultured languages. South Africa teaches us the same lesson. There was a duel there between the Taal, a corrupt form of Dutch, and English. The Boer mothers and the Boer fathers were determined that they would not let their children, with whom they in their infancy talked in the Taal, be weighed down with having to receive instruction through English. The case for English here was a strong one. It had able pleaders for it. But English had to yield before Boer patriotism. It may be observed that they rejected even the High Dutch. The school masters, therefore, who are accustomed to speak the published Dutch of Europe, are compelled to teach the easier Taal. And literature of an excellent character is at the present moment growing up in South Africa in the Taal, which was only a few years ago, the common medium of speech between simple but brave rustics. If we have lost faith in our vernaculars, it is a sign of want of faith in ourselves; it is the surest sign of decay. And no scheme of self-government, however benevolently or generously it may be bestowed upon us, will ever make us a self-governing nation, if we have no respect for the languages our mothers speak.

SOCIAL SERVICE

At the anniversary celebration of the Social Service League held in Madras on February 10, 1916, Mr. Gandhi delivered an address on "Social Service." Mrs. Whitehead presided. He said:

I have been asked this evening to speak to you about social service. If this evening you find that I am not able to do sufficient justice to this great audience you will ascribe it to so many engagements that I hastily and unthinkingly accepted. It was my desire that I should have at least a few moments to think out what I shall have to say to you but it was not to be. However, as our Chair Lady has said, it was work we want and not speeches. I am aware that you will have lost very little, if anything at all, if you find at the end of this evening talk that you have listened to very little.

Friends, for Social Service as for any other service on the face of the earth, there is one condition indispensable namely, qualifications, and proper qualifications, on the part of those who want to render social service or any other service. So we shall ask ourselves this evening whether those of us who are already engaged in this kind of service and others who have aspired to render the service possess these necessary qualifications. Because you will agree with me that in social service if they can mend matters they can also spoil matters and in trying to do service however well-intentioned that service might be, if they are not qualified for that service they will be rendering not service but disservice. What are these qualifications?

Imagine why I must repeat to you almost the qualifications that I described this morning to the students in the Young Mens' Christian Association Hall. Because they are of universal application and they are necessary for any class of work, much more so in social service at this time of the day in our national life in our dear country. It seems to me that we require truth in one hand and fearlessness in the other hand. Unless we carry the torchlight we shall not see the step in front of us and unless we carry the quality of fearlessness we shall not be able to give the message that we might want to give. Unless we have this fearlessness I feel sure that when that supreme final test comes we shall be found wanting. Then I ask you to ask yourselves whether those of you who are engaged in this service and those of you who want hereafter to be engaged in this service have these two qualities. Let me remind you also that these qualities may be trained in us in a manner detrimental to ourselves and in a manner detrimental to those with whom we may come in contact. This is a dangerous statement almost to make, as if truth could be ever so handled, and in making that statement I would like you also to consider that truth comes not as truth but only as truth so-called. In the inimitable book *Ramayana* we fnd that Indrajit and Lakshman, his opponent, possessed the same qualities. But Lakshman's life was guided by principle, based upon religion while Indrajit's principle was based upon irreligion, and we find what Indrajit possessed was mere dross and what Lakshman possessed was of great assistance not only to the side on whose behalf he was fighting but he has left a treasure for us to value. What was that additional quality he possessed? So, I hold that life without religion, is life without principle, that life with-

out principle is like a ship without a rudder. Just as our ship without rudder, the helmsman plying at it, is tossed about from place to place and never reaches its destination, so will a man without the heart-grasp of religion whirl without ever reaching his destined goal. So, I suggest to every social servant that he must not run away with the idea that he will serve his whole countrymen unless he has got these two qualities duly sanctified by religion and by a life divinely guided.

After paying a glowing tribute to the Madras Social Service League for its work in certain Pariah villages in the city he went on to say :—

It is no use white-washing those needs which we know everyday stare us in the face. It is not enough that we clear out the villages which are occupied by our Pariah brethren. They are amenable to reason and persuasion. Shall we have to say that the so-called higher classes are not equally amenable to reason and to persuasion and to hygienic laws which are indispensable in order to live a city-life. We may do many things with immunity but when we immediately transfer ourselves to crowded streets where we have hardly air to breathe, the life becomes changed, and we have to obey another set of laws which immediately come into being. Do we do that? It is no use saddling the municipality with the responsibilities for the condition in which we find not only the central parts of Madras but the central parts of every city of importance in India, and I feel no municipality in the world will be able to over-ride the habits of a class of people handed to them from generation to generation. It can be done only by such bodies as Social Service Leagues. If we pulsate with a new life, a new vision shall open before us in the near future, I think that these are the signs which will be

an indication to show that we are pulsating with a new life, which is going to be a proper life, which will add dignity to our nationality and which will carry the banner of progress forward. I, therefore, suggest that it is a question of sanitary reform in these big cities, which will be a hopeless task if we expect our municipalities to do this unaided by this voluntary work. Far be it from me to absolve the municipalities from their own responsibilities. I think there is a great deal yet to be done in the municipalities. Only the other day I read with a great degree of pain a report about the proceedings of the Bombay Municipality, and the deplorable fact in it is that a large part of the time of the Municipality was devoted to talking over trifles while they neglected matters of great moment. After all, I shall say that they will be able to do very little in as much as there is a demand for their work on the people themselves.

Here Mr. Gandhi instanced two cases where the Social Service League had been of immense help to the Municipality in improving the sanitary condition of the town, by changing the habits of the people, which had become a part of their being. He observed that some officials might consider that they could force an unwilling people to do many things, but he held to that celebrated saying that it was far better that people should often remain drunkards than that they should become sober at the point of the sword.

Mr. Gandhi then recounted some of his experiences in a temple at Kasi (Benares)—the wretched lanes surrounding it, the dirt to be witnessed near the sanctuary, the disorderly crowd and the avaricious priest. These evils in the temples, he said had to be removed by Social Service Leagues. For making it possible for students to

fight these conditions, the educational system had to be revolutionised. Now-a-days they were going out of their schools as utter strangers to their ancestral traditions and with fatigued brains, able to work no longer. They had to revolutionise that system.

Finally, he referred to the railway services and the conditions under which third class passengers travelled. To do social service among the passengers and instil better habits of sanitation among them, the social servants must not go to them in a foreign costume, speaking a foreign tongue. They might issue pamphlets to them or give instructive lessons, and so on.

TRUE PATRIOTISM

The following report of a conservation which an interviewer had with Mr. Gandhi contains his views on a variety of subjects of national interest :—

"We have lost" he said, "much of our self-respect, on account of being too much Europeanised. We think and speak in English. Thereby, we impoverish our vernaculars, and estrange the feelings of the masses. A knowledge of English is not essential to the service of our Motherland."

Turning to caste, he said "caste is the great power and secret of Hinduism."

Asked where he would stay, Mr. Gandhi replied: "Great pressure is brought down on me to settle in Bengal: but I have a great capital in the store of my knowledge in Guzerat and I get letters from there."

"Vernacular literature is important. I want to have a library of all books. I invite friends for financial aid to form libraries and locate them."

"Modern civilisation is a curse in Europe as also in India. War is the direct result of modern civilisation, everyone of the Powers was making preparations for war."

"Passive resistance is a great moral force, meant for the weak, also for the strong. Soul-force depends on itself. Ideals must work in practice, otherwise they are not potent. Modern civilisation is a brute force."

It is one thing to know the ideal and another thing to practise it. That will ensure greater discipline, which means a greater service and greater service means greater gain to Government. Passive resistance is a highly aggressive thing. The attribute of soul is restlessness; there is room for every phase of thought.

"Money, land and women are the sources of evil and evil has to be counteracted. I need not possess land, nor a woman, nor money to satisfy my luxuries. I do not want to be unhinged merely because others are unhinged. If ideals are practised, there will be less room for mischievous activities. Public life has to be moulded."

"Every current has to change its course. There are one and a half million sadhus and if every sadhu did his duty, India could achieve much. Jagat Guru Sankaracharya does not deserve that appellation because he has no more force in him."

Malicious material activity is no good. It finds out means to multiply one's luxuries. Intense gross modern activity should not be imposed on Indian institutions, which have to be remodelled on ideals taken from Hinduism. Virtue as understood in India is not understood in foreign lands. Dasaratha is considered a fool in foreign lands, for his having kept his promise to his wife. India says a promise is a promise. That is a good ideal. Mate-

rial activity is mischievous. "Truth shall conquer in the end."

"Emigration does no good to the country from which people emigrate. Emigrants do not return better moral men. The whole thing is against Hinduism. Temples do not flourish. There are no opportunities for ceremonial functions. Priests do not come, and at times they are merely men of straw, immigrants play much mischief and corrupt society. It is not enterprise. They may earn more money easily in those parts, which means that they do not want to toil and remain straight in the methods of earning. Immigrants are not happier and have more material wants."

Questioned about the Theosophical Society Mr. Gandhi said: "There is a good deal of good in the Theosophical Society, irrespective of individuals. It has stimulated ideas and thoughts."

THE SATYAGRHASHRAMA

This Address was delivered in the Y.M.C.A. Auditorium, Madras, on the 16th February 1916, the Hon. Rev. G. Pittendrigh, of the Madras Christian College, presiding on the occasion:—

To many of the students who came here last year to converse with me, I said I was about to establish an institution—*Ashrama*—somewhere in India, and it is about that place that I am going to talk to you this morning. I feel and I have felt during the whole of my public life that what we need, what any nation needs, but we perhaps of all the nations of the world need just now is nothing else and nothing less than character-building. And this is the view propounded by that great patriot, Mr. Gokhale

(cheers). As you know in many of his speeches, he used to say that we would get nothing, we would deserve nothing unless we had character to back what we wished for. Hence his founding of that great body, the Servants of India Society. And as you know, in the prospectus that has been issued in connection with the Society, Mr. Gokhale has deliberately stated that it was necessary to spiritualise the political life of the country. You know also that he used to say so often that our average was less than the average of so many European nations. I do not know whether that statement by him whom, with pride, I consider to be my political *Guru*, has really foundation in fact, but I do believe that there is much to be said to justify it in so far as educated India is concerned; not because we, the educated portion of the community, have blundered, but because we have been creatures of circumstances. Be that as it may, this is the maxim of life which I have accepted, namely, that no work done by any man, no matter how great he is, will really prosper unless he has religious backing. But what is religion? The question will be immediately asked. I, for one, would answer: Not the religion which you will get after reading all the scriptures of the world; it is not really a grasp by the brain, but it is a heart-grasp. It is a thing which is not alien to us, but it is a thing which has to be evolved out of us. It is always within us, with some consciously so; with the others quite unconsciously. But it is there; and whether we wake up this religious instinct in us through outside assistance or by inward growth, no matter how it is done, it has got to be done if we want to do anything in the right manner and anything that is going to persist.

Our Scriptures have laid down certain rules as maxims of life and as axioms which we have to take for granted as

self-demonstrated truths. The Shastras tell us that without living, according to these maxims, we are incapable even of having a reasonable perception of religion. Believing in these implicity for all these long years and having actually endeavoured to reduce to practice these injunctions of the Shastras, I have deemed it necessary to seek the association of those who think with me, in founding this institution. And I shall venture this morning to place before you the rules that have been drawn up and that have to be observed by every one who seeks to be a member of that *Ashram.*

Five of these are known as *Yamas* and the first and the foremost is,

THE VOW OF TRUTH.

Not truth simply as we ordinarily understand it, that as far as possible we ought not to resort to a lie, that is to say, not truth which merely answers the saying, "Honesty is the best policy"—implying that if it is not the best policy, we may depart from it. But here truth as it is conceived, means that we have to rule our life by this law of Truth at any cost. And in order to satisfy the definition I have drawn upon the celebrated illustration of the life of *Prahlad.* For the sake of truth, he dared to oppose his own father, and he defended himself, not by retaliation, by paying his father back in his own coin but in defence of Truth, as he knew it, he was prepared to die without caring to return the blows that he had received from his father or from those who were charged with his father's instructions. Not only that: he would not in any way even parry the blows: on the contrary, with a smile on his lips, he underwent the innumerable tortures to which he was subjected, with the result that, at last, Truth rose triumphant, not that Prahlad

suffered the tortures because he knew that some day or other in his very life-time he would be able to demonstrate the infallibility of the law of Truth. That fact was there; but if he had died in the midst of tortures, he would still have adhered to Truth. That is the Truth which I would like to follow. There was an incident I noticed yesterday. It was a trifling incident, but I think these trifling incidents are like straws which show which way the wind is blowing. The incident was this: I was talking to a friend who wanted to talk to me aside, and we were engaged in a private conversation. A third friend dropped in, and he politely asked whether he was intruding. The friend to whom I was talking said : "Oh, no, there is nothing private here." I felt taken aback a little, because, as I was taken aside, I knew that so far as this friend was concerned, the conversation was private. But he immediately, out of politeness, I would call it overpoliteness, said, there was no private conversation and that he (the third friend) could join. I suggest to you that this is a departure from my definition of Truth. I think that the friend should have, in the gentlest manner possible, but still openly and frankly, said : "Yes, just now, as you properly say, you would be intruding," without giving the slightest offence to the person if he was himself a gentleman—and we are bound to consider every body to be a gentleman unless he proves to be otherwise. But I may be told that the incident, after all, proves the gentility of the nation. I think that it is over-proving the case. If we continue to say these things out of politeness, we really become a nation of hypocrites. I recall a conversation I had with an English friend. He was comparatively a stranger. He is a Principal of a College and has been in India for several years. He was comparing notes with me, and he asked

me whether I would admit that we, unlike most Englishmen, would not dare to say "No" when it was" No" that we *meant*. And I must confess I immediately said " Yes"; I agreed with that statement :—We do hesitate to say "No." frankly and boldly, when we want to pay due regard to the sentiments of the person whom we are addressing. In our *Ashrama* we make it a rule that we must say " No" when we mean " No," regardless of consequences. This then is the first rule. Then we come to the

DOCTRINE OF AHIMSA

Literally speaking, *Ahimsa* means non-killing. But to me it has a world of meaning and takes me into realms much higher, infinitely higher, than the realm to which I would go, if I merely understood by *Ahimsa* non-killing. *Ahimsa* really means that you may not offend anybody, you may not harbour an uncharitable thought even in connection with one who may consider himself to be your enemy. Pray notice the guarded nature of this thought; I do not say " whom you consider to be your enemy", but " who may consider himself to be your enemy." For one who follows the doctrine of *Ahimsa* there is no room for an enemy; he denies the existence of an enemy. But there are people who consider themselves to be his enemies, and he cannot help that circumstance. So, it is held that we may not harbour an evil thought even in connection with such persons. If we return blow for blow, we depart from the doctrine of *Ahimsa*. But I go further. If we resent a friend's action or the so-called enemy's action, we still fall short of this doctrine. But when I say, we should not resent, I do not say that we should acquiesce: but by resenting I mean wishing that some harm should be done to the enemy, or that he should be put out of the way, not even by any action of ours, but by the action of somebody e...

or, say, by Divine agency. If we harbour even this thought, we depart from this doctrine of *Ahimsa*. Those who join the *Ashrama* have to literally accept that meaning. That does not mean that we practise that doctrine in its entirety. Far from it. It is an ideal which we have to reach, and it is an ideal to be reached even at this very moment, if we are capable of doing so. But it is not a proposition in geometry to be learnt by heart; it is not even like solving difficult problems in higher mathematics; it is infinitely more difficult than solving those problems. Many of you have burnt the midnight oil in solving those problems. If you want to follow out this doctrine, you will have to do much more than burn the midnight oil. You will have to pass many a sleepless night, and go through many a mental torture and agony before you can reach, before you can even be within measurable distance of this goal. It is the goal, and nothing less than that, you and I have to reach, if we want to understand what a religious life means. I will not say much more on this doctrine than this: that a man who believes in the efficacy of this doctrine finds in the ultimate stage, when he is about to reach the goal, the whole world at his feet,—not that he wants the whole world at his feet, but it must be so. If you express your love—*Ahimsa*—in such a manner that it impresses itself indelibly upon your so-called enemy, he must return that love. Another thought which comes out of this is that, under this rule, there is no room for organised assassinations, and there is no room for murders even openly committed, and there is no room for any violence even for the sake of your country, and even for guarding the honour of precious ones that may be under your charge. After all that would be a poor defence of

see honour. This doctrine of *Ahimsu* tells us that we may guard the honour of those who are under our charge by delivering *ourselves* into the hands of the man who would commit the sacrilege. And that requires far greater physical and mental courage than the delivering of blows. You may have some degree of physical power,—I do not say courage—and you may use that power. But after that is expended, what happens? The other man is filled with wrath and indignation, and you have made him more angry by matching your violence against his; and when he has done you to death, the rest of his violence is delivered against your charge. But if you do not retaliate, but stand your ground, between your charge and the opponent, simply receiving the blows without retaliating, what happens? I give you my promise that the whole of the violence will be expended on you, and your charge will be left unscathed. Under this plan of life there is no conception of patriotism which justifies such wars as you witness to-day in Europe. Then there is

THE VOW OF CELIBACY.

Those who want to perform national service, or those who want to have a glimpse of the real religious life, must lead a celibate life no matter if married or unmarried. Marriage but brings a woman closer together with the man, and they become friends in a special sense, never to be parted either in this life or in the lives that are to come. But I do not think that, in our conception of marriage, our lusts should necessarily enter. Be that as it may, this is what is placed before those who come to the *Ashrama*. I do not deal with that at any length. Then we have

THE VOW OR CONTROL OF THE PALATE

A man who wants to control his animal passions easily does so if he controls his palate. I fear this is one

of the most difficult vows to follow. I am just now coming after having inspected the Victoria Hostel. I saw there not to my dismay, though it should be to my dismay; but I am used to it now, that there are so many kitchens, not kitchens that are established in order to serve caste restrictions, but kitchens that have become necessary in order that people can have the condiments, and the exact weight of the condiments, to which they are used in the respective places from which they have come. And therefore we find that for the Brahmans themselves there are different compartments and different kitchens catering for the delicate tastes of all these different groups. I suggest to you that this is simply slavery to the palate, rather than mastery over it. I may say this: unless we take our minds off from this habit, and unless we shut our eyes to the tea shops and coffee shops and all these kitchens, and unless we are satisfied with foods that are necessary for the proper maintenance of our physical health, and unless we are prepared to rid ourselves of stimulating, heating and exciting condiments that we mix with our food, we will certainly not be able to control the over-abundant, unnecessary, and exciting stimulation that we may have. If we do not do that, the result naturally is, that we abuse ourselves and we abuse even the sacred trust given to us, and we become less than animals and brutes, eating, drinking and indulging in passions we share in common with the animals; but have you ever seen a horse or a cow indulging in the abuse of the palate as we do? Do you suppose that it is a sign of civilization, a sign of real life that we should multiply our eatables so far that we do not even know where we are; and seek dishes until at last we have become absolutely

mad and run after the newspaper sheets which give us advertisements about these dishes? Then we have

THE VOW OF NON-THIEVING.

I suggest that we are thieves in a way. If I take anything that I do not need for my own immediate use, and keep it, I thieve it from somebody else. I venture to suggest that it is the fundamental law of Nature, without exception, that Nature produces enough for our wants from day to-day, and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in this world, there would be no man dying of starvation in this world. But so long as we have got this inequality so long we are thieving. I am no socialist and I do not want to dispossess those who have got possessions: but I do say that, personally, those of us who want to see light out of darkness have to follow this rule. I do not want to dispossess anybody. I should then be departing from the rule of Ahimsa. If somebody else possesses more than I do, let him. But so far as my own life has to be regulated, I do say that I dare not possess anything which I do not want. In India we have got three millions of people having to be satisfied with one meal a day, and that meal consisting of a chapatti containing no fat in it, and a pinch of salt. You and I have no right to anything that we really have until these three millions are clothed and fed better. You and I, who ought to know better, must adjust our wants, and even undergo voluntary starvation, in order that they may be nursed, fed and clothed. Then there is the vow of non-possession which follows as a matter of course. Then I go to

THE VOW OF SWADESHI.

The vow of *Swadeshi* is a necessary vow. But you are conversant with the *Swadeshi* life and the *Swadeshi* spirit.

I suggest to you we are departing from one of the sacred laws of our being when we leave our neighbour and go out somewhere else in order to satisfy our wants. If a man comes from Bombay here and offers you wares, you are not justified in supporting the Bombay merchant or trader so long as you have got a merchant at your very door, born and bred in Madras. That is my view of *Swadeshi*. In your village-barber, you are bound to support him to the exclusion of the finished barber who may come to you from Madras. If you find it necessary that your village-barber should reach the attainments of the barber from Madras you may train him to that. Send him to Madras by all means, if you wish, in order that he may learn his calling. Until you do that you are not justified in going to another barber. That is *Swadeshi*. So, when we find that there are many things that we cannot get in India, we must try to do without them. We may have to do without many things which we may consider necessary, but believe me: when you have that frame of mind, you will find a great burden taken off your shoulders, even as the Pilgrim did in that inimitable book, "Pilgrim's Progress." There came a time when the mighty burden that the Pilgrim was carrying on his shoulders unconsciously dropped from him, and he felt a freer man than he was when he started on the journey. So will you feel freer men than you are now, immediately you adopt this *Swadeshi* life. We have also

THE VOW OF FEARLESSNESS.

I found, throughout my wanderings in India, that India, educated India, is seized with a paralysing fear. We may not open our lips in public; we may not declare our confirmed opinions in public: we may talk about them secretly; and we may do anything we like within the four

walls of our house,—but those are not for public consumption. If we had taken a vow of silence I would have nothing to say. When we open our lips in public, we say things which we do not really believe in. I do not know whether this is not the experience of almost every public man who speaks in India. I then suggest to you that there is only one Being, if Being is the proper term to be used, whom we have to fear, and that is God. When we fear God, we shall fear no man, no matter how high-placed he may be. And if you want to follow the vow of truth in any shape or form, fearlessness is the necessary consequence. And so you find, in the *Bhagavad Gita*, fearlessness is declared as the first essential quality of a Brahmin. We fear consequence, and therefore we are afraid to tell the Truth. A man who fears God will certainly not fear any earthly consequence. Before we can aspire to the position of understanding what religion is, and before we can aspire to the position of guiding the destinies of India, do you not see that we should adopt this habit of fearlessness? Or shall we over-awe our countrymen, even as we are over-awed? We thus see how important this "fearlessness" now is. And we have also

THE VOW REGARDING THE UNTOUCHABLES.

There is an ineffaceable blot that Hinduism to-day carries with it. I have declined to believe that it has been handed to us from immemorial times. I think that this miserable, wretched, enslaving spirit of "untouchableness" must have come to us when we were in the cycle of our lives, at our lowest ebb, and that evil has still stuck to us and it still remains with us. It is, to my mind, a curse that has come to us, and as long as that curse remains with us, so long I think we are bound to consider that every affliction that we labour under in this sacred

land is a fit and proper punishment for this great and indelible crime that we are committing. That any person should be considered untouchable because of his calling passes one's comprehension; and you, the student world, who receive all this modern education, if you become a party to this crime, it were better that you received no education whatsoever.

Of course, we are labouring under a very heavy handicap. Although you may realise that there cannot be a single human being on this earth who should be considered to be untouchable, you cannot react upon your families, you cannot react upon your surroundings, because all your thought is conceived in a foreign tongue, and all your energy is devoted to that. And so we have also introduced a rule in this Ashrama: that we shall receive our

EDUCATION THROUGH THE VERNACULARS.

In Europe every cultured man learns, not only his language, but also other languages, certainly three or four. And even as they do in Europe, in order to solve the problem of language in India, we in this Ashrama, make it a point to learn as many Indian vernaculars as we possibly can. And I assure you that the trouble of learning these languages is nothing compared to the trouble that we have to take in mastering the English language. We never master the English language: with some exceptions it has not been possible for us to do so; we can never express ourselves as clearly as we can in our own mother tongue. How dare we rub out of our memory all the years of our infancy? But that is precisely what we do when we commence our higher life, as we call it, through the medium of a foreign tongue. This creates a breach in our life for bringing which we shall have to pay dearly and heavily. And you

will see now the connection between these two things,—education and untouchableness—this persistance of the spirit of untouchableness even at this time of the day in spite of the spread of knowledge and education. Education has enabled us to see the horrible crime. But we are seized with fear also and, therefore, we cannot take this doctrine to our homes. And we have got a superstitious veneration for our family traditions and for the members of our family. You say, "My parents will die if I tell them that I, at least, can no longer partake of his crime." I say that Prahlad never considered that his father would die if he pronounced the sacred syllables of the name of Vishnu. On the contrary, he made the whole of that household ring, from one corner to another, by repeating that name even in the sacred presence of his father. And so you and I may do this thing in the sacred presence of our parents. If, after receiving this rude shock, some of them expire, I think that would be no calamity. It may be that some rude shocks of the kind might have to be delivered. So long as we persist in these things which have been handed down to us for generations, these incidents may happen. But there is a higher law of Nature, and in due obedience to that higher law my parents and myself should make that sacrifice.

AND THEN WE FOLLOW HAND-WEAVING.

You may ask: "Why should we use our hands?" and say "the manual work has got to be done by those who are illiterate. I can only occupy myself with reading literature and political essays." I think we have to realise the dignity of labour. If a barber or shoe-maker attends a college, he ought not to abandon the profession of barber or shoe-maker. I consider that a barber's profession is just as good as the profession of medicine.

Last of all, when you have conformed to these rules, think that then, and not till then, you may come to

POLITICS

and dabble in them to your heart's content, and certainly you will then never go wrong. Politics, divorced of religion, has absolutely no meaning. If the student-world crowd the political platforms of this country, to my mind, it is not necessarily a healthy sign of national growth; but that does not mean that you, in your student-life, ought not to study politics. Politics are a part of our being; we ought to understand our national institutions, and we ought to understand our national growth and all those things. We may do it from our infancy. So, in our *Ashrama*, every child is taught to understand the political institutions of our country, and to know how the country is vibrating with new emotions, with new aspirations, with a new life. But we want also the steady light, the infallible light, of religious faith, not a faith which merely appeals to the intelligence, but a faith which is indelibly inscribed on the heart. First, we want to realise that religious consciousness, and immediately we have done that, I think the whole department of life is open to us, and it should then be a sacred privilege of students and everybody to partake of that whole life, so that, when they grow to manhood and when they leave their colleges they may do so as men properly equipped to battle with life. To-day what happens is this: much of the political life is confined to student life; immediately the students leave their colleges and cease to be students, they sink into oblivion, they seek miserable employments, carrying miserable emoluments, rising no higher in their aspirations, knowing nothing of God, knowing nothing of fresh air or bright light and nothing of that real vigorous independence that comes out of obedience to these laws that I have ventured to place before you.

EDUCATION, ANCIENT AND MODERN

At a public meeting held at Allahabad under the chairmanship of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya Mr. Gandhi spoke on the Ideals of Education, Ancient and Modern. The following is an English rendering of the speech which was delivered in Hindi :—

Mr. Gandhi who on rising was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers, said that the fact that he should have felt difficulty—of which he was ashamed—in addressing the meeting in Hindi was a striking commentary on the system of modern education which was a part of the subject of his lecture that evening. He would, however, prefer to speak in Hindi although he had greater facility of expression in English. Describing the modern system of education he said that real education was considered to have begun at the college at the age of 16 or 17. The education received in school was not useful. For instance, an Indian student, while he knew well the geography of England, did not possess a sufficient knowledge of the geography of his own country. The history of India which they were taught was greatly distorted. Government service was the aim of their education. Their highest ambition was to become members of the Imperial Legislative Council. The boys abandoned their hereditary occupations, and forsook their mother tongue. They were adopting the English language, European ideas and European dress. They thought in English, conducted all their political and social work and all commercial transactions, etc., in English and felt that they could

not do without the English language. They had come to think that there was no other road. Education through English had created a wide gulf between the educated few and the masses. It had created a gulf in the families also. An English educated man had no community of feelings and ideas with the ladies of his family. And, as had been said, the aspirations of the English educated men were fixed on Government service and at the most on membership of the Imperial Legislative Council. He for one could never commend a system of education which produced such a state of things and men educated under such system could not be expected to do any great service to the country. Mr. Gandhi did not mean that the English educated leaders did not feel for the masses. On the other hand, he acknowledged that the Congress and other great public movements were initiated and conducted by them. But, at the same time, he could not help feeling that the work done during all these years would have been much more, and much greater progress would have been made, if they had been taught in their mother tongue. It was unfortunate, said the speaker, that a feeling had come over them that there was no path to progress other than that which was being followed. They found themselves helpless. But it was not manliness to assume an attitude of helplessness.

Mr. Gandhi then described the ancient system of education and said that even elementary education imparted by the village teacher taught the student all that was necessary for their occupations. Those who went in for higher education became fully conversant with the science of wealth *Artha Sastra*, ethics and religion *Dharma Sastra*. In ancient times there were no restrictions on education. It was not controlled by the State,

but was solely in the hands of Brahmans, who shaped the system of education solely with an eye to the welfare of the people. It was based on restraint and *Brahmacharya.* It was due to such a system of education that Indian civilization had outlived so many vicissitudes through thousands of years, while such ancient civilizations as those of Greece, Rome and Egypt had become extinct. No doubt the wave of a new civilization had been passing through India, But he was sure that it was transitory, it would soon pass away and Indian civilization would be revivified. In ancient times the basis of life was self-restraint, but now it was enjoyment. The result was that people had become powerless cowards and forsook the truth. Having come under the influence of another civilization it might be necessary to adopt our own civilization in certain respect to our new environments, but we should not make any radical change in a civilization which was acknowledged even by some western scholars to be the best. It might be urged that it was necessary to adopt the methods and instruments of western civilization to meet the material forces of that civilization. But the forces born of spirituality, the bed-rock of Indian civilization, were more than a match for material forces. India was pre-eminently the land of religion. It was the first and the last duty of Indians to maintain it as such. They should draw their strength from the soul, from God. If they adhered to that path Swarajya which they were aspiring to and working for would become their hand-maid.

INDIAN MERCHANTS

Mr. Gandhi was entertained by the merchants of Broach during his visit to the city and presented with an address of welcome. Mr. Gandhi replied to the address in the following terms:—

Merchants always have the spirit of adventure, intellect and wealth, as without these qualities their business cannot go on. But now they must have the fervour of patriotism in them. Patriotism is necessary even for religion. If the spirit of patriotism is awakened through religious fervour, then that patriotism will shine out brilliantly. So it is necessary that patriotism should be roused in the mercantile community.

The merchants take more part in public affairs now-a-days than before. When merchants take to politics through patriotism, Swaraj is as good as obtained. Some of you might be wondering how we can get Swaraj. I lay my hand on my heart and say that, when the merchant class understands the spirit of patriotism, then only can we get Swaraj quickly. Swaraj then will be quite a natural thing.

Amongst the various keys which will unlock Swaraj to us, the Swadeshi Vow is the golden one. It is in the hands of the merchants to compel the observance of the Swadeshi Vow in the country, and this is an adventure which can be popularised by the merchants. I humbly request you to undertake this adventure, and then you will see what wonders you can do.

This being so, I have to say with regret that it is the merchant class which has brought ruin to the Swadeshi practice, and the Swadeshi movement in this country. Complaints have lately risen in Bengal about the increase of rates, and one of them is against Gujarat. It is complained there that the prices of Dhotis have been abnormally increased and Dhotis go from Gujarat. No one wants you not to earn money, but it must be earned righteously and not be ill-gotten. Merchants must earn money by fair means. Unfair means must never be used.

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said: India's strength lies with the merchant class. So much does not lie even with the army. Trade is the cause of war, and the merchant class has the key of war in their hands. Merchants raise the money and the army is raised on the strength of it. The power of England and Germany rests on their trading class. A country's prosperity depends upon its mercantile community. I consider it as a sign of good luck that I should receive an address from the merchant class. Whenever I remember Broach, I will enquire if the merchants who have given me an address this day have righteous faith and patriotism. If I receive a disappointing reply, I will think that merely a wave of giving addresses had come over India and that I had a share in it.

NATIONAL DRESS

Mr. Gandhi wrote the following reply to Mr. Irwin's criticism of his dress in the "Pioneer" during the Champaran enquiry.

I have hitherto successfully resisted the temptation of either answering your or Mr. Irwin's criticism of the humble work I am doing in Champaran. Nor am I going to succumb now except with regard to a matter which Mr. Irwin has thought fit to dwell upon and about which he has not even taken the trouble of being correctly informed. I refer to his remarks on my manner of dressing.

My "familiarity with the minor amenities of western civilisation" has taught me to respect my national costume, and it may interest Mr. Irwin to know that the dress I wear in Champaran is the dress I have always worn in India except that for a very short period in India I fell an easy prey in common with the rest of my countrymen to the wearing of semi-European dress in the courts and elsewhere outside Kathiawar. I appeared before the Kathiawar courts now 21 years ago in precisely the dress I wear in Champaran.

One change I have made and it is that having taken to the occupation of weaving and agriculture and having taken the vow of Swadeshi, my clothing is now entirely hand-woven and hand-sewn and made by me or my fellow-workers. Mr. Irwin's letter suggests that I appear before the ryots in a dress I have temporarily and specially adopted in Champaran to produce an effect. The fact is that I wear the national dress because it is the most

natural and the most becoming for an Indian. I believe that our copying of the European dress is a sign of our degradation, humiliation and our weakness, and that we are committing a national sin in discarding a dress which is best suited to the Indian climate and which for its simplicity, art and cheapness, is not to be beaten on the face of the earth and which answers hygienic requirements. Had it not been for a false pride and equally false notions of prestige, Englishmen here would long ago have adopted the Indian costume. I may mention incidentally that I do not go about Champaran bare-headed. I do avoid shoes for sacred reasons. But I find too that it is more natural and healthier to avoid them whenever possible.

I am sorry to inform Mr. Irwin and your readers that my esteemed friend Babu Brijakishore Prasad, the "ex-Hon. Member of Council," still remains unregenerate and retains the provincial cap and never walks barefoot and "kicks up" a terrible noise even in the house we are living in by wearing wooden sandals. He has still not the courage, inspite of most admirable contact with me, to discard his semi-anglicised dress and whenever he goes to see officials he puts his legs into the bifurcated garment and on his own admission tortures himself by cramping his feet in elastic shoes. I cannot induce him to believe that his clients won't desert him and the courts won't punish him if he wore his more becoming and less expensive dhoti. I invite you and Mr. Irwin not to believe the "stories" that the latter hears about me and my friends, but to join me in the crusade against educated Indians abandoning their manners, habits and customs which are not proved to be bad or harmful. Finally I venture to warn you and Mr. Irwin that you and he will ill-serve the cause both of you consider is in danger by reason of my presence in

Champaran if you continue, as you have done, to base your strictures on unproved facts. I ask you to accept my assurance that I should deem myself unworthy of the friendship and confidence of hundreds of my English friends and associates—not all of them fellow-cranks—if in similar circumstances I acted towards them differently from my own countrymen.

THE HINDU-MAHOMEDAN PROBLEM.

The following is an extract from a Gujarati letter addressed by Mr. Gandhi, to a Mahomedan correspondent :

I never realise any distinction between a Hindu and a Mahomedan. To my mind, both are sons of Mother India. I know that Hindus are in a numerical majority, and that they are believed to be more advanced in knowledge and education. Accordingly, they should be glad to give way so much the more to their Mahomedan brethren. As a man of truth, I honestly believe that Hindus should yield up to the Mahomedans what the latter desire, and that they should rejoice in so doing. We can expect unity only if such mutual large-heartedness is displayed. When the Hindus and Mahomedans act towards each other as blood-brothers, then alone can there be unity, then only can we hope for the dawn of India.

SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The following is the Foreward contributed by Mr. Gandhi to Mr. G. A. Natesan's book entitled "What India Wants: Autonomy within the Empire"—published in September 1917.

I have read Mr. Natesan's booklet with the greatest pleasure. It is a fine *Vade mecum* for the busy politician and worker. Mr. Natesan has provided him with a connected narrative of the movement of self-government in a very attractive and acceptable form. By reproducing in their historical sequence the extracts from official records he has allowed them to speak for themselves. The book is in my opinion a great help to the controversialist and the student of our present day politics who does not care to study musty blue books or has no access to them.

With reference to the joint scheme of Self-Government, though I do not take so much interest in it as our leaders, I feel that from the Government standpoint it must command their attention as a measure which has agitated the public mind as no other has, and I venture to think that there will be no peace in the country until the Scheme has been accepted by the Government.

GUJARAT EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

The following is the Presidential address to the Second Gujarat Educational Conference held at Broach in October 20, 1917, specially translated for the "Indian Review."

EDUCATION THROUGH THE VERNACULARS

The Gujarat Education League that has called us together has set before it three objects :

(I) To cultivate and express public opinion on matters of education,

(2) To carry on sustained agitation on educational questions.

(3) To take all practical steps for the spread of education in Gujarat.

I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to place before you my thoughts on these objects and the conclusions I have arrived at.

It must be clear enough to everybody that our first business is to consider and form an opinion about the medium of instruction. Without fixing the medium all our other efforts are likely to be fruitless. To go on educating our children without determining the medium is like an attempt to build without a foundation.

Opinion seems to be divided on the matter. One party claims that instruction ought to be imparted through the vernacular (Gujarati in this province). The other will have English as the medium. Both are guided by pure motives. Both are lovers of their country. But good intentions alone are not sufficient for reaching a

goal. It is world-wide experience that good intentions often take a man to a bad place. It is, therefore, our duty to examine on their merits the contentions of both the parties and, if possible, to arrive at a final and unanimous conclusion on this great question. That it is great no one can doubt. We cannot, therefore, give too much consideration to it.

It is, moreover, a question which affects the whole of India. But every Presidency or Province can come to an independent conclusion. It is in no way essential that before Gujarat may move, all the other parts of India should arrive at a unanimous decision.

We shall, however, be better able to solve our difficulties by glancing at similar movements in other provinces. When the heart of Bengal, at the time of the Partition, was throbbing with the Swadeshi spirit, an attempt was made to impart all instruction through Bengali. A National College was established. Rupees poured in. But the experiment proved barren. It is my humble belief that the organisers of the movement had no faith in the experiment. The teachers fared no better. The educated class of Bengal seemed to dote upon English. It has been suggested that it is the Bengali's command over the English language that has promoted the growth of Bengali literature. Facts do not support the view. Sir Rabindranath Tagore's wonderful hold on Bengali is not due to his command of the English language. His marvellous Bengali is dependent upon his love of the mother tongue. "Gitanjali" was first written in Bengali, The great poet uses only Bengali speech in Bengal. The speech that he recently delivered in Calcutta on the present situation was in Bengali. Leading men and women of Bengal were among the audience. Some of

them told me that for an hour and a half, by a ceaseless flow of language, he kept the audience spell-bound. He has not derived his thoughts from English literature. He claims that he has received them from the atmosphere of the soil. He has drunk them from the Upanishads. The Indian sky has showered them upon him. And I understand that the position of the other Bengali writers is very similar to the poet's.

When Mahatma Munshiramji, majestic as the Himalayas, delivers his addresses in charming Hindi, the audience composed of men, women and children listen to him and understand his message. His knowledge of English he reserves for his English friends. He does not translate English thought into Hindi.

It is said of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviaji, who, though a householder, has, for the sake of India, dedicated himself entirely to the country, that his English speech is silvery. His silvery eloquence compels Viceregal attention. But if his English speech is silvery, his Hindi speech shines golden like the waters of the Ganges under the sunbeans, as they descend from the Mansarovar.

These three speakers do not owe their power to their English knowledge, but to their love of the vernaculars. The services rendered by the late Swami Dayanand to Hindi owe nothing to the English language. Nor did English play any part in the contributions of Tukaram and Ramdas to Marathi literature. The English language can receive no credit for the growth in Gujarati literature from Premanand's pen as of Shamal Chat's and quite recently of Dalpatram.

The foregoing illustrations seem to afford sufficient proof that love of, and faith in, the vernaculars, rather

than a knowledge of English are necessary for their expansion.

We shall arrive at the same conclusion when we consider how languages grow. They are a reflection of the character of the people who use them. One who knows the dialects of the Zulus of South Africa knows their manners and customs. The character of a language depends upon the qualities and acts of the people. We should unhesitatingly infer that a nation could not possess warlike, kind-hearted and truthful people, if its language contained no expressions denoting these qualities. And we should fail to make that language assimilate such expressions by borrowing them from another language and forcing them into its dictionary, nor will such spurious importation make warriors of those who use that speech. You cannot get steel out of a piece of ordinary iron, but you can make effective use of rusty steel, by ridding it of its rust. We have long laboured under servility and our vernaculars abound in servile expressions. The English language is probably unrivalled in its vocabulary of nautical terms. But if an enterprising Gujarati presented Gujarat with a translation of those terms, he would add nothing to the language and we should be none the wiser for his effort. And if we took up the calling of sailors and provided ourselves with shipyards and even a navy, we should automatically have terms which would adequately express our activity in this direction. The late Rev. J. Taylor gave the same opinion in his Gujarati Grammar. He says: "One sometimes hears people asking whether Gujarati may be considered a complete or an incomplete language. There is a proverb, 'As the king, so his subjects; as the teacher, so the pupil.' Similarly it can be said, 'As the speaker, so the

language.' Shamalbhatt and other poets do not appear to have been obsessed with an idea of the incompleteness of Gujarati when they expressed their different thoughts, but they so coined new expressions and manipulated the old that their thoughts became current in the language.

" In one respect all languages are incomplete. Man's reason is limited and language fails him when he begins to talk of God and Eternity. Human reason controls human speech. It is, therefore, limited, to the extent that reason itself is limited, and in that sense all languages are incomplete. The ordinary rule regarding language is that a language takes shape in accordance with the thoughts of its wielders. If they are sensible, their language is full of sense, and it becomes nonsense when foolish people speak it. There is an English proverb, " A bad carpenter quarrels with his tools." Those who quarrel with a language are often like the bad carpenter. To those who have to deal with the English language and its literature, the Gujarati language may appear incomplete for the simple reason that translation from English into Gujarati is difficult. The fault is not in the language but in the people before whom the translation is placed. They are not used to new words, new subjects and new manipulations of their language. The speaker, therefore, is taken aback. How shall a singer sing before a deaf man ? And how can a writer deliver his soul until his readers have developed a capacity for weighing the new with the old and sifting the good from the bad.

" Again some translators seem to think that Gujarati they have imbibed with their mother's milk, and they have learnt English at school, and that they, therefore, have become masters of two languages, and need not take

up Gujarati as a study. But atrainment of perfection in one's mother tongue is more difficult than effort spent in learning a foreign tongue. An examination of the works of Shamalbhatt and other poets will reveal endless effort in every line. To one indisposed to undergo mental strain, Gujarati will appear incomplete. But it will cease to so appear after a proper effort. If the worker is lazy, the language will fail him. It will yield ample results to an industrious man. It will be found to be capable even of ornamentation. Who dare belittle Gujarati, a member of the Aryan family, a daughter of Sanskrit, a sister of many noble tongues? May God bless it and may there be in it to the end of time, good literature, sound knowledge and expression of true religion. And may God bless the speech and may we hear its praise from the mothers and the scholars of Gujarat."

Thus we see that it was neither the imperfection of Bengali speech, nor impropriety of the effort that was responsible for the failure of the movement in Bengal to impart instruction through Bengali. We have considered the question of incompleteness. Impropriety of the effort cannot be inferred from an examination of the movement. It may be that the workers in the cause lacked fitness or faith.

In the north, though Hindi is being developed, real effort to make it a medium seems to have been confined only to the Arya Samajists. The experiment continues in the Gurukuls.

In the Presidency of Madras the movement commenced only a few years ago. There is greater intensity of purpose among the Telugus than among the Tamils. English has acquired such a hold of the literary class among the Tamils that they have not the energy even to

conduct their proceedings in Tamil. The English language has not affected the Telugus to that extent. They, therefore, make greater use of Telugu. They are not only making an attempt to make Telugu the medium of instruction; they are heading a movement to repartition India on a linguistic basis. And though the propagation of this idea was commenced only recently, the work is being handled with so much energy that they are likely to see results within a short time. There are many rocks in their way. But the leaders of the movement have impressed me with their ability to break them down.

In the Deccan the movement goes ahead. That good soul Prof. Karve is the leader of the movement. Mr. Naik is working in the same direction. Private institutions are engaged in the experiment. Prof. Bijapurkar, has, after great labour, succeeded in reviving his experiment and we shall see it in a short time crystallised into a school. He had devised a scheme for preparing text-books. Some have been printed and some are ready for print. The teachers in that institution never betrayed want of faith in their cause. Had the institution not been closed down, so far as Marathi is concerned the question of imparting all instruction through it would have been solved.

We learn from an article in a local magazine by Rao Bahadur Hargovindas Kantawala that a movement for making Gujarati the medium of instruction has already been made in Gujarat. Prof. Gajjar and the late Diwan Bahadur Manibhai Jushbhai initiated it. It remains for us to consider whether we shall water the seed sown by them. I feel that every moment's delay means so much harm done to us. In receiving education through English at least sixteen years are required. Many experienced

teachers have given it as their opinion that the same subjects can be taught through the vernaculars in ten years' time. Thus by saving six years of their lives for thousands of our children we might save thousands of years for the nation.

The strain of receiving instruction through a foreign medium is intolerable. Our children alone can bear it, but they have to pay for it. They become unfit for bearing any other strain. For this reason our graduates are mostly without stamina, weak, devoid of energy, diseased and mere imitators. Originality, research, adventure, ceaseless effort, courage, dauntlessness and such other qualities have become atrophied. We are thus incapacitated for undertaking new enterprises, and we are unable to carry them through if we undertake any. Some who can give proof of such qualities die an untimely death. An English writer had said that the non-Europeans are the blotting-sheets of European civilisation. Whatever truth there may be in this cryptic statement, it is not due to the natural unfitness of the Asiatics. It is the unfitness of the medium of instruction which is responsible for the result. The Zulus of South Africa are otherwise enterprising, powerfully built and men of character. They are not hampered by child-marriages and such other defects. And yet the position of their educated class is the same as ours. With them the medium of instruction is Dutch. They easily obtain command over Dutch as we do over English, and like us they too on completion of their education loose their energy and for the most part become imitators. Originality leaves them along with the mother-tongue. We the English-educated class are unfit to ascertain the true measure of the harm done by the unnatural system. We should get some idea of it if we realised how little we have

reacted upon the masses. The outspoken views on education that our parents sometimes give vent to are thought-compelling. We dote upon our Boses and Roys. Had our people been educated through their vernaculars during the last fifty years, I am sure that the presence in our midst of a Bose or a Roy would not have filled us with astonishment.

Leaving aside for the moment the question of propriety or otherwise of the direction that Japanese energy has taken, Japanese enterprise must amaze us. The national awakening there has taken place through their national language, and so there is a freshness about every activity of theirs. They are teaching their teachers. They have falsified the blotting-sheet smile. Education has stimulated national life, and the world watches dumbstruck Japan's activities. The harm done to national life by the medium being a foreign tongue is immeasurable.

The correspondence that should exist between the school training and the character imbibed with the mother's milk and the training received through her sweet speech is absent when the school training is given through a foreign tongue. However pure may be his motives, he who thus snaps the cord that should bind the school-life and the home-life is an enemy of the nation. We are traitors to our mothers by remaining under such a system. The harm done goes much further. A gulf has been created between the educated classes and the uneducated masses. The latter do not know us. We do not know the former. They consider us to be 'Saheblog.' They are afraid of us. They do not trust us. If such a state of things were to continue for any length of time, a time may come for Lord Curzon's charge to be true, viz., that the literary classes do not represent the masses.

Fortunately the educated class seems to be waking up from its trance. They experience the difficulty of contact with the masses. How can they infect the masses with their own enthusiasm for the national cause? They cannot do so through English. They have not enough ability or none for doing so through Gujarati. They find it extremely difficult to put their thoughts into Gujarati. I often hear opinion expressed about this difficulty. Owing to the barrier thus created the flow of national life suffers impediment.

Macaulay's object in giving preference to the English language over the vernaculars was pure. He had a contempt for our literature. It affected us and we forgot ourselves and just as a pupil often outdoes the teacher so was the case with us. Macaulay thought that we would be instrumental in spreading western civilisation among the masses. His plan was that some of us would learn English, form our character and spread the new thought among the millions. (It is not necessary here to consider the soundness of this view. We are merely examining the question of the medium.) We, on the other hand, discovered in English education a medium for obtaining wealth and we gave that use of it predominance. Some of us found in it a stimulus for our patriotism. So the original intention went into the background, and the English language spread beyond the limit set by Macaulay. We have lost thereby.

Had we the reins of Government in our hands we would have soon detected the error. We could not have abandoned the vernaculars. The governing class has not been able to do so. Many perhaps do not know that the language of our courts is considered to be Gujarati. The Government have to have the Acts of the legislature

translated in Gujarati. The official addresses delivered at Darbar gatherings are translated there and then. We see Gujarati and other vernaculars used side by side with English in currency notes. The mathematical knowledge required of the surveyors is difficult enough. But Revenue work would have been too costly, had surveyors been required to know English. Special terms have, therefore been coined for the use of surveyors. They excite pleasurable wonder. If we had a true love for our vernaculars we could even now make use of some of the means at our disposal for their spread. If the pleader were to begin to make use of the Gujarati language in the courts they would save their clients much money, and the latter will gain some necessary knowledge of the laws of the land, and will begin to appreciate their rights. Interpreters' fees would be saved, and legal terms would become current in the language. It is true the pleaders will have to make some effort for the attainment of this happy result. I am sure, nay, I speak from experience, that their clients will lose nothing thereby. There is no occasion to fear that arguments advanced in Gujarati will have less weight. Collectors and other officials are expected to know Gujarati. But by our superstitious regard for English we allow their knowledge to become rusty.

It has been argued that the use we made of English for attainment of wealth, and for stimulating patriotism was quite proper. The argument however, has no bearing on the question before us. We shall bow to those who learn English for the sake of gaining wealth or for serving the country otherwise. But we would surely not make English the medium on that account. My only object in referring to such a use of the English language was to show that it continued its abuse as a medium of instruc-

tion and thus produced an untoward result. Some contend that only English-knowing Indians have been fired with the patriotic spirit. The past few months have shown us something quite different. But even if we were to admit that claim on behalf of English, we could say that the others never had an opportunity. Patriotism of the English-educated class has not proved infectious, whereas a truly patriotic spirit ought to be all-pervading.

It has been stated that the foregoing arguments, on matter how strong they may be in themselves, are impracticable. "It is a matter for sorrow that other branches of learning should suffer for the sake of English. It is certainly undesirable that we should suffer an undue mental strain in the act of gaining command over the English language. It is, however, my humble opinion that there is no escape for us from having to bear this hardship, regard being had to the fact of our relationship with the English language, and to find out a way." These are not the views of an ordinary writer. They are owned by one who occupies a front rank among the Gujarati men of letters. He is a lover of Gujarati. We are bound to pay heed to whatever Prof. Dhruva writes. Few of us have the experience he has. He has rendered great service to the cause of Gujarati literature and education. He has a perfect right to advise and to criticise. In the circumstances one like me has to pause. Again the views above expressed are shared with Prof. Dhruva by several protagonists of the English language. Prof. Dhruva has stated them in dignified language. And it is our duty to treat them with respect. My own position is still more delicate. I have been trying an experiment in national education under his advice and guidance. In that institution Gujarati is the medium of instruction. Enjoying

such an intimate relation with Prof. Dhruva I hesitate to offer anything by way of criticism of his views. Fortunately, Prof. Dhruva regards both systems, the one wherein English is the medium and the other in which the mother tongue is the medium, in the nature of experiment; he has expressed no final opinion on either. My hesitation about criticising his views is lessened on that account. It seems to me that we lay too much stress on our peculiar relationship with the English language. I know that I may not with perfect freedom deal with this subject from this platform. But it is not improper even for those who cannot handle political subjects to consider the following proposition. The English connection subsists solely for the benefit of India. On no other basis can it be defended. English statesmen themselves have admitted that the idea that one nation should rule another is intolerable, undesirable and harmful for both. This proposition is accepted as a maxim beyond challenge in quarters where it is considered from an altruistic standpoint. If then both the rulers and the nation are satisfied that the mental calibre of the nation suffers by reason of English being the medium, the system ought to be altered without a moment's delay. It would be demonstration of our manliness to remove obstacles however great in our path, and if this view be accepted, those like Prof. Dhruva who admit the harm done to our mental calibre do not stand in need of any other arugument.

I do not consider it necessary to give any thought to the possibility of our knowledge of English suffering by reason of the vernacular occupying its place. It is my humble belief that not only is it unnecessary for all educated Indians to acquire command over English, but that it is equally unnecessary to induce a taste for acquiring such command.

Some Indians will undoubtedly have to learn English. Prof. Dhruva has examined the question with a lofty purpose only. But examining from all points we would find that it will be necessary for two classes to know English :—

(1) Those patriots who have a capacity for learning languages, who have time at their disposal and who are desirous of exploring the English literature and placing the results before the nation, or those who wish to make use of the English language for the sake of coming in touch with the rulers.

(2) Those who wish to make use of their knowledge of English for the sake of acquiring wealth.

There is not only no harm in treating English as an optional subject, and giving these two classes of candidates the best training in it, but it is even necessary to secure for them every convenience. In such a scheme the mother-tongue will still remain the medium. Prof. Dhruva fears that if we do not receive all instruction through English, but learn it as a foreign language, it will share the fate of Persian, Sanskrit and other languages. With due respect I must say that there is a hiatus in this reasoning. Many Englishmen, although they receive their training through English, possess a high knowledge of French and are able to use it fully for all their purposes. There are men in India who although they have received their training through English have acquired no mean command over French and other languages. The fact is that when English occupies its proper place and the vernaculars receive their due, our minds which are to-day imprisoned will be set free and our brains though cultivated and trained, and yet being fresh will not feel the weight of having to learn English as a

language. And it is my belief that English thus learnt will be better than our English of to-day. And our intellects being active, we should make more effective use of our English knowledge. Weighing the pros and cons, therefore, this seems to be the way that will satisfy many ends.

When we receive our education through the mother-tongue, we should observe a different atmosphere in our homes. At present we are unable to make our wives co-partners with us. They know little of our activity. Our parents do not know what we learn. If we receive instruction through the mother-tongue we should easily make our washermen, our barbers, and our bhangis, partakers of the high knowledge we might have gained. In England one discusses high politics with barbers while having a shave. We are unable to do so even in our family circle, not because the members of the family or the barbers are ignorant people. Their intellect is as well-trained as that of the English barber. We are able to discuss intelligently with them the events of "Mahabharata," "Ramayana" and of our holy places. For the national training flows in that direction. But we are unable to take home what we receive in our schools. We cannot reproduce before the family circle what we have learnt through the English language.

At the present moment the proceedings of our Legislative Councils are conducted in English. In many other institutions the same state of things prevails. We are, therefore, in the position of a miser who buries underground all his riches. We fare no better in our law courts. Judges often address words of wisdom. The court-going public is always eager to hear what the Judges have to say. But they know no more than the dry deci-

sions of the Judges. They do not even understand their counsels' addresses. Doctors receiving diplomas in Medical Colleges treat their patients no better. They are unable to give necessary instructions to their patients. They often do not know the vernacular names of the different members of the body. Their connection, therefore, with their patients, as a rule, does not travel beyond the writing of prescriptions. It is brought up as a charge against us that through our thoughtlessness we allow the water that flows from the mountain-tops during the rainy season to go to waste, and similarly treat valuable manure worth lakhs of rupees and get disease in the bargain. In the same manner being crushed under the weight of having to learn English and through want of far-sightedness, we are unable to give to the nation what it should receive at our hands. There is no exaggeration in this statement. It is an expression of the feelings that are raging within me. We shall have to pay dearly for our continuous disregard of the mother-tongue. The nation has suffered much by reason of it. It is the first duty of the learned class now to deliver the nation from the agony.

There can be no limit to the scope of a language in which Narasingh Mehta sang. Nandshanker wrote his *Karanghelo*, which has produced a race of writers like Navalram, Narmadashanker, Manilal, Malabari and others; in which the late Raychandkavi carried on his soul-lifting discourses, which the Hindus, Mahomedans and Parsis claim to speak and can serve if they will; which has produced a race of holy sages; which owns among its votaries millionaires; which has been spoken by sailors who have ventured abroad; and in which the Barda hills still bear witness to the valourous deeds of Mulu Manek

and Jodha Manek. What else can the Gujaratis achieve if they decline to receive their training through that language ? It grieves one even to have to consider the question.

In closing this subject I would invite your attention to the pamphlets published by Dr. Pranjiwandas Mehta, of which a Gujarati translation is now out. I ask you to read them. You will find therein a collection of opinions in support of the views herein expressed.

If it is deemed advisable to make the mother-tongue the media of instruction, it is necessary to examine the steps to be taken for achieving the end. I propose to recount them, without going into the argument in support :—

(1) The English-knowing Gujaratis should never, in their mutual intercourse, make use of English.

(2) Those who are competent both in English and Gujarati, should translate useful English works into Gujarati.

(3) Education Leagues should have text-books prepared.

(4) Moneyed men should establish schools in various places in which Gujarati should be the medium.

(5) Alongside of the foregoing activity, conferences and leagues should petition the Government and pray that the medium should be Gujarati in Government schools, that proceedings in the Law Courts and Councils and all public activities should be in Gujarati, that public services should be open to all, without invidious distinctions in favour of those who know English, and in accordance with the qualifications of applicants for the post for which they may apply, and that schools should be established where

aspirants for public offices may receive training through Gujarati.

There is a difficulty about the foregoing suggestions. In the councils there are members who speak in Marathi, Sindhi, Gujarati and even Kanarese. This is a serious difficulty, but not insurmountable. The Telugus have already commenced a discussion of the question, and there is little doubt that a re-distribution of provinces will have to take place on a linguistic basis. Till then every member should have the right to address his remarks in Hindi or in his own vernacular. If this suggestion appears laughable, I would state in all humility that many suggestions have at first sight so appeared. As I hold the view that our progress depends upon a correct determination of the medium of instruction, my suggestion appears to me to have much substance in it. If my suggestion were adopted the vernaculars will gain in influence, and when they acquire State recognition they are likely to show merits beyond our imagination. * * *

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

It behoves us to devote attention to a consideration of a national language, as we have done to that of the medium of instruction. If English is to become a national language, it ought to be treated as a compulsory subject. Can English become the national language? Some learned patriots contend that even to raise the question betrays ignorance. In their opinion English already occupies that place. His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent utterance has merely expressed a hope that English will occupy that place. His enthusiasm does not take him as far as that of the former. His Excellency believes that English will day after day command a larger place, will permeate the family circle, and at last rise to

the status of a national language. A superficial consideration will support the viceregal contention. The condition of our educated classes gives one the impression that all our activities would come to a standstill if we stop the use of English. And yet deeper thought will show that English can never and ought not to become the national language of India. What is the test of a national language?

(1) For the official class it should be easy to learn.

(2) The religious, commercial and political activity throughout India should be possible in that language.

(3) It should be the speech of the majority of the inhabitants of India.

(4) For the whole of the country it should be easy to learn.

(5) In considering the question, weight ought not to be put upon momentary or shortlived conditions.

The English language does not fulfil any of the conditions above named. The first ought to have been the last, but I have purposely given it the first place because that condition alone gives the appearance of being applicable to the English language. But upon further consideration we should find that for the officials even at the present moment it is not an easy language to learn. In our scheme of administration, it is assumed that the number of English officials will progressively decrease, so that in the end only the Viceroy and others whom one may count on one's finger-tips will be English. The majority are of Indian nationality to-day, and their number must increase.

And everyone will admit that for them English is more difficult to be learnt than any Indian language. Upon an examination of the second condition, we find that until the public at large can speak English, religious

activity through that tongue is an impossibility. And a spread of English to that extent among the masses seems also impossible.

English cannot satisfy the third condition because the majority in India do not speak it.

The fourth, too, cannot be satisfied by English because it is not an easy language to learn for the whole of India.

Considering the last condition we observe that the position that English occupies to-day is momentary. The permanent condition is that there will be little necessity for English in the national affairs. It will certainly be required for imperial affairs. That, therefore, it will be an imperial language, the language of diplomacy, is a different question. On that purpose its knowledge is a necessity. We are not jealous of English. All that is contended for, is that it ought not to be allowed to go beyond its proper sphere. And as it will be the imperial language, we shall compel our Malaviyajis, our Shastriars and our Banerjeas to learn it. And we shall feel assured that they will advertise the greatness of India in other parts of the world. But English cannot become the national language of India. To give it that place is like an attempt to introduce Esperanto. In my opinion it is unmanly even to think that English can become our national language. The attempt to introduce Esperanto merely betrays ignorance. Then which is the language that satisfies all the five conditions? We shall be obliged to admit that Hindi satisfies all those conditions.

I call that language Hindi which Hindus and Mahomedans in the North speak and write, either in the Devanagari or the Urdu character. Exception has been taken to his definition. It seems to be argued that Hindi

and Urdu are different languages. This is not a valid argument. In the Northern parts of India Musalmans and Hindus speak the same language. The literate classes have created a division. The learned Hindus have Sanskritised Hindi. The Mussalmans, therefore, cannot understand it. The Moslems of Lucknow have Persianised their speech and made it unintelligible to the Hindus. These represent two excesses of the same language. They find no common place in the speech of the massess. I have lived in the North. I have freely mixed with Hindus and Mahomedans, and although I have but a poor knowledge of Hindi I have never found any difficulty in holding communion with them. Call the language of the North what you will, Urdu or Hindi, it is the same. If you write it in the Urdu character you may know it as Urdu. Write the same thing in the Nagari character and it is Hindi.

There, therefore, remains a difference about the script. For the time being Mahomedan children will certainly write in the Urdu character and Hindus will mostly write in the Devangari. I say mostly, because thousands of Hindus use the Urdu character and some do not even know the Nagari character. But when Hindus and Mahomedans come to regard one another without suspicion, when the causes begetting suspicion are removed, that script which has greater vitality will be more universally used and therefore become the national script. Meanwhile those Hindus and Mahomedans who desire to write their petitions in the Urdu character should be free to do so, and should have the right of having them accepted at the seat of National Government.

There is not another language capable of competing with Hindi in satisfying the five conditions. Bengali

comes next to Hindi. But the Bengalis themselves make use of Hindi outside Bengal. No one wonders to see a Hindi-speaking man making use of Hindi, no matter where he goes. Hindu preachers and Mohomedan Moulvis deliver their religious discourses throughout India in Hindi and Urdu and even the illiterate masses follow them. Even the unlettered Gujarati going to the North attempts to use a few Hindi words, whereas a gatekeeper from the North declines to speak in Gujarati even to his employer, who has on that account to speak to him in broken Hindi. I have heard Hindi spoken even in the Dravid country. It is not true to say that in Madras one can go on with English. Even there I have employed Hindi with effect. In the trains I have heard Madras passengers undoubtedly use Hindi. It is worthy of note that Mahomedans throughout India speak Urdu and they are to be found in large numbers in every Province. Thus Hindi is destined to be the national language. We have made use of it as such in times gone by. The rise of Urdu itself is due to that fact. The Mahomedan kings were unable to make Persian or Arabic the national language. They accepted the Hindi Grammar, but employed the Urdu character and Persian words in their speeches. They could not, however, carry on their intercourse with the masses through a foreign tongue. All this is not unknown to the English. Those who know anything of the sepoys know that for them military terms have had to be prepared in Hindi or Urdu.

Thus we see that Hindi alone can become the national language. It presents some difficulty in the case of the learned classes in Madras. For men from the Deccan, Gujarat, Sind and Bengal it is easy enough. In a few months they can acquire sufficient command over Hindi to

enable them to carry on national intercourse in that tongue. It is not so for the Tamils. The Dravidian languages are distinct from their Sanskrit sister in structure and grammar. The only thing common to the two groups is their Sanskrit vocabulary to an extent. But the difficulty is confined to the learned class alone. We have a right to appeal to their patriotic spirit and expect them to put forth sufficient effort in order to learn Hindi. For in future when Hindi has received State recognition it will be introduced as a compulsory language in Madras as in other Provinces, and intercourse between Madras and them will then increase. English has not permeated the Dravidian masses. Hindi, however, will take no time. The Telugus are making an effort in that direction even now. If this Conference can come to an unanimous conclusion as to a national language, it will be necessary to devise means to attain that end. Those which have been suggested in connection with the media of instruction are with necessary changes applicable to this question. The activity in making Gujarati the medium of instruction will be confined to Gujarat alone, but the whole of India can take part in the movement regarding the national language. * * *

DEFECTS IN OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

We have considered the question of the media of instruction, of the national language, and of the place that English should occupy. We have now to consider whether there are any defects in the scheme of education imparted in our schools and colleges.

There is no difference of opinion in this matter. The Government and public opinion alike have condemned the present system. But there are wide differences as to what should be omitted and what should be adopted. I

am not equipped for an examination of these differences but I shall have the temerity to submit to this Conference my thoughts on the modern system of education.

Education cannot be said to fall within my province. I have, therefore, some hesitation in dwelling upon it. I am myself ever prepared to put down and be impatient of those men and women who travelling outside their provinces discourse upon those for which they are not fitted. It is but meet that a lawyer should resent the attempt of a physician to discourse upon law. Nor has a man who has no experience of educational matters any right to offer criticism thereon. It is, therefore, necessary for me to briefly mention my qualifications.

I began to think about the modern system of education 25 years ago. The training of my children and those of my brothers and sisters came into my hands. Realising the defects of the system obtaining in our schools, I began experiments on my own children. I even moved them myself. My discontent remained the same even when I went to South Africa. Circumstances compelled me to think still more deeply. For a long time I had the management of the Indian Educational Association of Natal in my hands. My boys have not received a public school training. My eldest son witnessed the vicissitudes that I have passed through. Having despaired of me, he joined the educational institutions in Ahmedabad. It has not appeared to me that he has gained much thereby. It is my belief that those whom I have kept away from public schools have lost nothing, but have received good training. I have noticed defects in that training. They were inevitable. The boys began to be brought up in the initial stages of my experiments, and whilst the different links belong to the same chain that was hammered into shape

from time to time, the boys had to pass through these different stages. At the time of the Passive Resistance struggle, over fifty boys were being educated under me. The constitution of the school was largely shaped by me. It was unconnected with any other institution or with the Government standard. I am conducting a similar experiment here. A national institution has been in existence for the last five months and has received the blessings of Prof. Dhruva and other learned men of Gujarat. The ex-Professor Shah of the Gujarat College is its Principal. He has been trained under Prof. Gajjar. He has as his co-workers other lovers of Gujarati. I am chiefly responsible for the scheme of this institution. But all the teachers connected with it have approved of it and they have dedicated their lives to the work, receiving only maintenance money. Owing to circumstances beyond my control, I am unable personally to take part in the tuition, but my heart is ever in it. My experiment, therefore, though it is all that of an amateur, is not devoid of thought and I ask you to bear it in mind while you consider my criticism of modern education.

I have always felt that the scheme of education in India has taken no account of the family system. It was perhaps natural that in framing it, our wants were not thought of. Macaulay treated our literature with contempt and considered us a superstitious people. The framers of the educational policy were mostly ignorant of our religion, some even deemed it to be irreligion. The scriptures were believed to be a bundle of superstitions, our civilisation was considered to be full of defects. We being a fallen nation, it was assumed that our organisation must be peculiarly defective and so notwithstanding pure intentions a faulty structure was raised. For building a new scheme

the framers naturally took count of the nearest conditions. The Governors would want the help of the lawyers, physicians, clerks. We would want the new knowledge. These ideas controlled the scheme. Text books were, therefore, prepared in utter disregard of our social system, and according to an English proverb, the cart was put before the horse. Malabari has stated that if we want to teach our children History and Geography we must first give them a knowledge of the geography of the home. I remember that it was my lot to have to memorise the English counties. And a subject which is deeply interesting was rendered dry as dust for me. In history there was nothing to enthral my attention. It ought to be a means to fire the patriotic spirit of young lads. I found no cause for patriotism in learning history in our schools. I had to imbibe it from other books.

In the teaching of Arithmetic and kindred subjects, indigenous methods have received little or no attention. They have been almost abandoned and we have lost the cunning of our forefathers which they possessed in mental arithmetic.

The teaching of Science is dry. Pupils can make no practical use of it. Astronomy which can be taught by observing the sky is given to the pupils from text-books. I have not known a scholar being able to analyse a drop of water, after leaving school.

It is no exaggeration to say that the teaching of Hygiene is a farce. We do not know at the end of 60 years' training how to save ourselves from plague and such other diseases. It is in our opinion the greatest reflection upon our educational system that our doctors have not been able to rid the country of these diseases. I have visited hundreds of homes but have hardly seen a

house in which rules of hygiene were observed. I doubt very much if our graduates know how to treat snake-bites, etc. Had our doctors been able to receive their training in medicine in their childhood they would not occupy the pitiable position that they do. This is a terrible result of our educational system. All the other parts of the world have been able to banish plague from their midst. Here it has found a home and thousands die before their time, and if it be pleaded that poverty is the cause, the Department of Education has to answer why there should be any poverty after 60 years of education.

We might now consider the subjects which are altogether neglected. Character should be the chief aim of education. It passes my comprehension how it can be built without religion. We shall soon find out that we are neither here nor there. It is not possible for me to dilate on this delicate subject. I have met hundreds of teachers. They have related their experiences with a sigh. This Conference has to give deep thought to it. If the scholars lost their characters they would have lost everything.

In this country 85 to 90 per cent. of the population is engaged in agricultural pursuits. We can, therefore, never know too much of agriculture. But there is no place for agricultural training even in our High Schools. A catastrophe like this is possible only in India. The art of hand-weaving is fast dying. It was the agriculturist's occupation during his leisure. There is no provision for the teaching of that art in our syllabus. Our education simply produces a political class, and even a goldsmith, blacksmith or a shoemaker who is entrapped in our schools is turned out a political. We should surely desire that all should receive what is good education. But

if all at the end of their education in our schools and colleges become politicals ?—

There is no provision for military training. It is no matter of great grief to me. I have considered it a boon received by chance, but the nation wants to know the use of arms. And those who want to, should have the opportunity. The matter, however, seems to have been clean forgotton.

Music has found no place. We have lost all notion of what a tremendous effect it has on men. Had we known it, we would have strained every nerve to make our children learn the art. The Vedic chant seems to recognise its effect. Sweet music calms the fever of the soul. Often we notice disturbances in largely attended meetings. The sound of some national rhyme rising in tune from a thousand breasts can easily still such disturbances. It is no insignificant matter to have our children singing with one voice soul-stirring, vitalising national songs. That sailors and other labouring classes go through their heavy task to the tune of some rhythmic expression is an instance of the power of music. I have known English friends forgetting their cold by rolling out some of their favourite tunes. The singing of dramatic songs, anyhow, without reference to timeliness and thumping on harmoniums and concertinas harm our children. If they were to receive methodical musical training, they would not waste their time singing so called songs out of tune. Boys will abhor questionable songs even as a good musician will never sing out of tune and out of season. Music is a factor in national awakening, and it should be provided for. The opinion of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami on this subject is worthy of study.

Gymnastics and body-training in general have

had no serious attention given to them. Tennis, cricket and football have replaced national games. The former, it may be admitted, are games full of interest, but if everything western had not captivated us, we should not have abandoned equally interesting but inexpensive national games, such as *Gedidudo*, *Moi dandia*, *Khokho*, *Magmatli*, *Nadtutu*, *Kharopat*, *Navnagli*, *Sat tali* and so on. Our gymnastics which exercise every limb of the body and our *Kusti* grounds have almost disappeared. If anything western is worthy of being copied it is certainly the western drill. An English friend rightly remarked that we did not know how to walk. We have no notion of marching in step in large bodies. We are not trained to march noiselessly, in an orderly manner in step, in twos or fours, in directions varying from time to time. Nor need it be supposed that drilling is useful for military purposes only. It is required for many acts of benevolence, e. g., there is a fire drill, there is a drill for helping the drowned to come to life, and there is a stretcher drill. Thus it is necessary to introduce in our schools national games, national gymnastics and the western drill.

Female education fares no better than male education. In framing the scheme of female education, no thought has been given to the Indian conception of relationship between husband and wife, and the place an Indian woman occupies in society.

Much of the primary education may be common to both the sexes. But beyond that there is little that is common. Nature has made the two different, and a distinction is necessary in framing a scheme of education for the two sexes. Both are equal, but the sphere of work is defined for each. Woman has the right to the queenship of the home. Man is the controller of outside manage-

ment. He is the bread-winner, woman husbands the resources of the family and distributes them. Woman is her infant's nurse, she is its maker, on her depends the child's character, she is the child's first teacher, thus she is the mother of the nation. Man is not its father. After a time the father's influence over his son begins to wane. The mother never allows it to slip away from herself. Even when we reach manhood we play like children with our mothers. We are unable to retain that relationship with our fathers. If then the vocation of the two are naturally and properly distinct, there is no occasion to arrange for an independent earning of livelihood by women in general. Where women are obliged to be telegraphists, typists and compositors, there is a break in well-ordered society. A nation that has adopted such a scheme has, in my opinion, come to the end of its resources, and has begun to live on its capital.

Thus it is wrong on the one hand to keep our women in a state of ignorance and degradation. It is a sign of weakness, and it is tyrannical to impose men's work on her. After co-education for some years, a different scheme for girls is necessary. They ought to have a knowledge of the management of the home, of regulating the life during the child-bearing period and the upbringing of children, etc. To formulate such a scheme is a difficult task. This is a new subject in the department of education. In order to explore the unbeaten track, women of character and learning and men of experience should be entrusted with the task of devising a scheme of female education. Such a committee will try to devise means for the education of our girls. But we have numerous girls who are married during girlhood, The number is increasing. These girls disappear from the education stage after

marriage. I venture to copy below the views I have expressed on this phase of female education in my preface to the first number of the Bhaginee Samaj series:

"The provision of education for unmarried girls does not solve the problem of female education. Thousands of girls at the age of 12 become victims of child-marriage and disappear from view. They become mothers! So long as we have not got rid of this cruel wrong, husbands will have to become their wives' teachers. In the fitness of husbands for this task lies high hope for the nation. All endeavour for the national uplift is vain so long as instead of becoming our companions, our better halves and partners in our joys and sorrows, our wives remain our cooks and objects of our lust. Some treat their wives as if they were beasts. Some Sanskrit texts and a celebrated verse of Tulsidas are responsible for this deplorable state of things. Tulsidas has said that beasts, fools, Sudras and women, are fit to receive bodily punishment. I am a devotee of Tulsidas. But my worship is not blind. Either the couplet is apocryphal, or Tulsidas following the popular current has thoughtlessly written it off. With reference to Sanskrit expressions, we are haunted by the superstitious belief that everything Sanskrit is scriptural! It is our duty to purge ourselves of the superstition and uproot the habit of considering women as our inferiors. There is another body of men who in pursuit of their passions decorate their wives from period to period during twenty-four hours even as we decorate our idols. We must shake ourselves free of this idolatry. Then at last they will be what Uma was to Shankara, Sita to Rama, Damayanti to Nala, they will be our companions, they will discourse with us on equal terms, they will appreciate our sentiments, they will nurse them, they would by their

marvellous intuitive powers understand our business worries as by magic, share them with us and give us the soothing peace of the home. Then but not till then is our regeneration possible. To attain to that lofty status through girl-schools is highly improbable for a long time. So long as we are destined to groan under the shackles of child-marriages, so long will husbands have to become teachers of their child-wives. It is not tuition in the alphabet only that is here contemplated. Step by step they have to be initiated in political and social subjects and literary training is not indispensable for imparting such knowledge to them. Husbands who aspire after the position of teachers will have to alter their conduct towards their wives. If husbands were to observe Brahmacharya so long as their wives have not reached maturity and are receiving their education under them, had we not been paralysed by inertia, we would never impose the burden of motherhood upon a girl of 12 or 15. We would shudder even to think of any such possibility.

It is well that classes are opened for married women and that lectures are given for them. Those who are engaged in this kind of activities are entitled to credit. But it appears that until husbands discharge the duty incumbent on them, we are not likely to obtain great results. Upon reflection this would appear to be a self-evident truth."

Wherever we look, we observe imposing structures upon weak foundation. Those who are selected as teachers for primary schools may, for the sake of courtesy, be so called. In reality, however, it is an abuse of terms to call such men teachers. A scholar's childhood is the most important period of life. Knowledge received during that period is never forgotton. And it is during this period

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that they are helped the least, and they are shoved into any so-called school.

In my opinion if in this country instead of devoting our pecuniary resources to ornamenting our schools and colleges beyond the capacity of this poor country, we were to devote them to imparting primary education under teachers who are well trained, upright and sobered by age, in hygienic conditions, we should in a short time have tangible results. Even if the salaries of the teachers in primary schools were doubled, we could not obtain the desired results. Paltry changes are not enough to secure important results. It is necessary to alter the framework of primary education. I know that this is a difficult subject. There are many pitfalls ahead, but its solution ought not to be beyond the power of the Gujarat Education League. It ought, perhaps, to be stated that there is no intention here of finding fault with primary school teachers individually. That they are able beyond their capacity to show us results, is a proof of the stability of our grand civilisation. If the same teachers were properly fitted and encouraged, they could show us undreamt-of results.

It is, perhaps, improper for me to say anything about the question of compulsory education. My experience is limited. I find it hard to reconcile myself to any compulsion being imposed on the nation. The thought, therefore, of putting an additional burden in the shape of compulsory education worries me. It appears to be more in keeping with the times to experiment in free and voluntary education. Until we have come out of the compulsion stage as the rule of life, to make education compulsory seems to me to be fraught with many dangers. The experience gained by the Baroda Government may help us

in considering this subject. The results of my examination of the Baroda system have been so far unfavourable. But no weight can be attached to them as my examination was wholly superficial. I take it for granted that the delegates assembled here will be able to throw helpful light on the subject.

It is certain that the golden way to remove the defects ennumerated by me is not through petitioning. Great changes are not suddenly made by Governments. Such enterprises are possible only by the initiative of the leaders of a nation. Under the British Constitution voluntary national effort has a recognised place. Ages will pass away before we achieve our aims, if we depended solely upon Government initiative. As in England so in India, we have to lead the way for the Government by making experiments ourselves. Those who detect shortcomings in our educational system can make the Government remove them by themselves making experiments and showing the way. Numerous private institutions should be established in order to bring about such a consummation. There is one big obstacle in our path. We are enamoured of 'degrees.' The very life seems to hang upon passing an examination and obtaining a degree. It sucks the nation's life-blood. We forget that 'degrees' are required only by candidates for Government service. But Government service is not a foundation for national life. We see, moreover, that wealth can be acquired without Government service. Educated men can, by their enterprise, acquire wealth even as illiterate men do by their cleverness. If the educated class bccame free from the paralysing fear of their unfitness for business, they should surely have as much capacity as the illiterate class. If, therefore, we become free from the bondage of 'degrees,' many

private institutions could be carried on. No Government can possibly take charge of the whole of a nation's education. In America private enterprise is the predominant factor in education. In England numerous schools and colleges are conducted by private enterprise. They issue their own certificates. Herculean efforts must be made in order to put national education on a firm foundation. Money, mind, body and soul must be dedicated to it. We have not much to learn from America. But there is certainly one thing which we can copy from that country. Great educational schemes are propounded and managed by gigantic trusts. Millionaires have given off their millions to them. They support many a private school. These trusts have not only untold wealth at their disposal, but command also the services of able-bodied, patriotic and learned men, who inspect and protect national institutions and give financial assistance, where necessary. Any institution conforming to the conditions of these trusts is entitled to financial help. Through these trusts even the elderly peasant of America has brought to his door the results of the latest experiments in agriculture. Gujarat is capable of supporting some such scheme. It has wealth, it has learning, and the religious instinct has not yet died out. Children are thirsting for education. If we can but initiate the desired reform, we could by our success command Government action. One act actually accomplished will be far more forcible than thousands of petitions.

The foregoing suggestions have involved an examination of the other two objects of the Gujarat Education League. The establishment of a trust such as I have described is a continuous agitation for the spread of education and a practical step towards it.

But to do that is like doing the only best. It could not, therefore, be easy. Both Government and millionaires can be wakened into life only by coaxing. *Tapasya* is the only means to do it. It is the first and the best step in religion. And I assume that the Gujarat Education League is an incarnation of *Tapasya*. Money will be showered upon the league when its secretaries and members are found to be embodiments of selflessness and learning. Wealth is always shy. There are reasons for such shyness. If, therefore, we want to coax wealthy men we shall have to prove our fitness. But although we require money, it is not necessary to attach undue importance to that need. He who wishes to impart national education can, if he is not equipped for it, do so by labouring and getting the necessary training and having thus qualified himself will, sitting under the shadow of a tree, distribute knowledge freely to those who want it. He is a Brahmin, indeed, and this dharma can be practised by every one who wishes it. Both wealth and power will bow to such an one. I hope and pray to God that the Gujarat Education League will have immoveable faith in itself.

The way to Swaraj lies through education. Political leaders may wait on Mr. Montagu. The political field may not be open to this Conference. But all endeavour will be useless without true education. The field of education is a speciality of this Conference. And if we achieve success in that direction, it means success all over.

GUJARAT POLITICAL CONFERENCE

The following is an English translation of Mr. Gandhi's Presidential Address to the First Gujarat Political Conference held at Godhra, on November 3, 1917.

Brothers and Sisters, I am thankful to you all for the exalted position to which you have called me. I am but a baby of two years and a half in Indian politics. I cannot trade, here, on my experience in South Africa. I know that acceptance of the position is to a certain extent an impertinence. And yet I have been unable to resist the pressure your over-whelming affection has exerted upon me.

I am conscious of my responsibility. This Conference is the first of its kind in Gujarat. The time is most critical for the whole of India. The empire is labouring under a strain never before experienced. My views do not quite take the general course. I feel that some of them run in the opposite direction. Under the circumstances, I can hardly claim this privileged position. The president of a meeting is usually its spokesman. I cannot pretend to lay any such claim. It is your kindness that gives me such a unique opportunity of placing my thoughts before the Gujarat public. I do not see anything wrong in these views being subjected to criticism, dissent, and even emphatic protest. I would like them to be freely discussed. I will only say with regard to them that they were not formed to-day or yesterday. But they were formed years ago. I am enamoured of them, and my Indian experience of two years and a half has not altered them.

I congratulate the originators of the proposal to hold this Conference as also those friends who have reduced it to practice. It is a most important event for Gujarat. It is possible for us to make it yield most important results. This conference is in the nature of a foundation, and if it is well and truly laid, we need have no anxiety as to the superstructure. Being the first progenitor, its responsibility is great. I pray that God will bless us with wisdom and that our deliberations will benefit the people.

This is a political conference. Let us pause a moment over the word 'political.' It is, as a rule, used in a restricted sense, but I believe it is better to give it a wider meaning. If the work of such a conference were to be confined to a consideration of the relations between the rulers and the ruled, it would not only be incomplete, but we should even fail to have an adequate conception of those relations. For instance the question of Mhowra flowers is of great importance for a part of Gujarat. If it is considered merely as a question between the Government and the people, it might lead to an untoward end, or even to one never desired by us. If we considered the genesis of the law on Mhowra flowers and also appreciated our duty in the matter, we would, very probably, succeed sooner in our fight with Government than otherwise, and we would easily discover the key to successful agitation. You will more clearly perceive my interpretation of the word 'political' in the light of the views now being laid before you.

Conferences do not, as a rule, after the end of their deliberations, appear to leave behind them an executive body, and even when such a body is appointed, it is, to use the language of the late Mr. Gokhale, composed of men who are amateurs. What is wanted in order to give effect

to the resolutions of such conferences is men who would make it their business to do so. If such men come forward in great numbers, then and then only will such conferences be a credit to the country and produce lasting results. At present there is much waste of energy. It is desirable that there were many institutions of the type of the Servants of India Society. Only when men fired with the belief that service is the highest religion, come forward in great numbers, only then could we hope to see great results. Fortunately, the religious spirit still binds India, and if during the present age the service of the motherland becomes the end of religion, men and women of religion in large numbers would take part in our public life. When sages and saints take up this work, India will easily achieve her cherished aims. At all events it is incumbent on us that for the purposes of this conference we formed an executive committee whose business it would be to enforce its resolutions.

The sound of Swaraj pervades the Indian air. It is due to Mrs. Besant that Swaraj is on the lips of hundreds of thousands of men and women. What was unknown to men and women only two years ago, has, by her consummate tact and her indefatigable efforts, become common property for them. There cannot be the slightest doubt that her name will take the first rank in history among those who inspired us with the hope that Swaraj was attainable at no distant date. Swaraj was, and is, the goal of the Congress. The idea did not originate with her. But the credit of presenting it to us as an easily attainable goal belongs to that lady alone. For that we could hardly thank her enough. By releasing her and her associates, Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, Government have laid us under an obligation, and at the

same time acknowledged the just and reasonable nature of the agitation for Swaraj. It is desirable that Government should extend the same generosity towards our brothers, Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. It is no use discussing the appositeness or otherwise of what Sir William Vincent has said about them. It is to be hoped that the Government will accede to the peoples' desire for their release and thus make them responsible for any improper result that might flow from their release. Such clemency will make them all the more grateful to the Government. The act of generosity will be incomplete so long as these brothers are not released. The grant of freedom to the brothers will gladden the peoples' hearts and endear the Government to them.

Mr. Montagu will shortly be in our midst. The work of taking signatures to the petition to be submitted to him is going on apace. The chief object of this petition is to educate the people about Swaraj. To say that a knowledge of letters is essential to obtain Swaraj betrays ignorance of history. A knowledge of letters is not necessary to inculcate among people the idea that we ought to manage our own affairs. What is essential is the grasp of such an idea. People have to desire Swaraj. Hundreds of unlettered kings have ruled kingdoms in an effective manner. To see how far such an idea exists in the minds of the people and to try to create it where it is absent, is the object of this petition. It is desirable that millions of men and women should sign it intelligently. That such a largely signed petition will have its due weight with Mr. Montagu is its natural result.

No one has the right to alter the scheme of reforms approved by the Congress and the Moslem League, and one need not, therefore, go into the merits thereof. For

our present purposes we have to understand thoroughly the scheme formulated most thoughtfully by our leaders and to faithfully do the things necessary to get it accepted and enforced.

This scheme is not Swaraj, but is a great step towards Swaraj. Some English critics tell us that we have no right to enjoy Swaraj, because the class that demands it is incapable of defending India. "Is the defence of India to rest with the English alone," they ask, "and are the reins of Government to be in the hands of the Indians?" Now this is a question which excites both laughter and sorrow. It is laughable, because our English friends fancy that they are not of us, whilst our plan of Swaraj is based upon retention of the British connection. We do not expect the English settlers to leave this country. They will be our partners in Swaraj. And they need not grumble if in such a scheme the burden of the defence of the country falls on them. They are, however, hasty in assuming that we shall not do our share of defending the country. When India decides upon qualifying herself for the act of soldiering, she will attain to it in no time. We have but to harden our feelings to be able to strike. To cultivate a hardened feeling does not take ages. It grows like weeds. The question has also its tragic side, because it puts us in mind of the fact that Government have up to now debarred us from military training. Had they been so minded they would have had at their disposal to-day, from among the educated classes, an army of trained soldiers. Government have to accept a larger measure of blame than the educated classes for the latter having taken little part in the war. Had the Government policy been shaped differently from the very commencement, they would have

to-day an unconquerable army. But let no one be blamed for the present situation. At the time British rule was established, it was considered to be a wise policy for the governance of crores of men to deprive them of arms and military training. But it is never too late to mend, and both the rulers and the ruled must immediately repair the omission.

In offering these views I have assumed the propriety of the current trend of thought. To me, however, it does not appear to be tending altogether in the right direction. Our agitation is based on the Western model. The Swaraj we desire is of a Western type. As a result of it India will have to enter into competition with the Western nations. Many believe that there is no escape from it. I do not think so. I cannot forget that India is not Europe, India is not Japan, India is not China. The divine word that 'India alone is the land of Karma' (Action), the rest is the land of Bhoga (Enjoyment), is indelibly imprinted on my mind. I feel that India's mission is different from that of the others. India is fitted for the religious supremacy of the world. There is no parallel in the world for the process of purification that this country has voluntarily undergone. India is less in need of steel weapons, it has fought with divine weapons; it can still do so. Other nations have been votaries of brute force. The terrible war going on in Europe furnishes a forcible illustration of the truth. India can win all by soul-force. History supplies numerous instances to prove that brute force is as nothing before soul-force. Poets have sung about it and Seers have described their experiences. A thirty-year old Hercules behaves like a lamb before his eighty-year old father. This is an instance of love-force. Love is

Atman : it is its attribute. If we have faith enough we can wield that force over the whole world. Religion having lost its hold on us, we are without an anchor to keep us firm amidst the storm of modern civilisation, and are therefore being tossed to and fro. Enough, however, of this, for the present. I shall return to it at a later stage.

In spite of my views being as I have just described them, I do not hesitate to take part in the Swaraj movement, for India is being governed in accordance with the Western system and even the Government admit that the British Parliament presents the best type of that system. Without parliamentary government, we should be nowhere. Mrs. Besant is only too true when she says that we shall soon be facing a hunger-strike, if we do not have Home Rule. I do not want to go into statistics. The evidence of my eyes is enough for me. Poverty in India is deepening day by day. No other result is possible. A country that exports its raw produce and imports it after it has undergone manufacturing processes, a country that in spite of growing its own cotton, has to pay crores of rupees for its imported cloth, cannot be otherwise than poor. It can only be said of a poor country that its people are spend-thrifts, because they ungrudingly spend money in marriage and such other ceremonies. It must be a terribly poor country that cannot afford to spend enough in carrying out improvements for stamping out epidemics like the plague. The poverty of a country must continuously grow when the salaries of its highly paid officials are spent outside it. Surely it must be India's keen poverty that compels its people, during cold weather, for want of woollen clothing, to burn their precious manure, in order to warm themselves. Throughout my

wanderings in India I have rarely seen a buoyant face. The middle classes are groaning under the weight of awful distress. For the lowest order there is no hope. They do not know a bright day. It is a pure fiction to say that India's riches are buried under ground, or are to be found in her ornaments. What there is of such riches is of no consequence. The nation's expenditure has increased, not so its income. Government have not deliberately brought about this state of things. I believe that their intentions are pure. It is their honest opinion that the nation's prosperity is daily growing. Their faith in their Blue Books is immovable. It is only too true that statistics can be made to prove anything. The economists deduce India's prosperity from statistics. People like me who appreciate the popular way of examining figures shake their heads over bluebook statistics. If the gods were to come down and testify otherwise, I would insist on saying that I see India growing poorer.

What then would our Parliament do? When we have it, we would have a right to commit blunders, and to correct them. In the early stages we are bound to make blunders. But we being children of the soil, won't lose time in setting ourselves right. We shall, therefore, soon find out remedies against poverty. Then our existence won't be dependent on Lancashire goods. Then we shall not be found spending untold riches on Imperial Delhi. It will, then, bear some correspondence to the peasant cottage. There will be some proportion observed between that cottage and our Parliament House. *The nation today is in a helpless condition, it does not possess even the right to err. He who has no right to err can never go forward.* The history of the Commons is a history of blunders. Man, says an Arabian proverb, is error personified. *Freedom*

to err and the duty of correcting errors is one definition of Swaraj. And such Swaraj lies in Parliament. That Parliament we need to-day.' We are fitted for it to-day. We shall therefore get it on demand. It rests with us to define 'to-day.' Swaraj is not to be attained through an appeal to the British democracy. The English nation cannot appreciate such an appeal. Its reply will be:—"We never sought outside help to obtain Swaraj. We have received it through our own ability. You have not received it, because you are unfit. When you are fit for it, nobody can withhold it from you." How then shall we fit ourselves for it? We have to demand Swaraj from our own democracy. Our appeal must be to it. When the peasantry of India understand what Swaraj is, the demand will become irresistible. The late Sir W. W. Hunter used to say that in the British system, victory on the battle-field was the shortest cut to success. If educated India could have taken its full share in the war, I am certain that we would not only have reached our goal already, but the manner of the grant would have been altogether unique. We often refer to the fact that many sepoys of Hindustan have lost their lives on the battle-fields of France and Mesopotamia. It is not possible for the educated classes to claim the credit for this event. It is not patriotism that had prompted those sepoys to go to the battlefield. They know nothing of Swaraj. At the end of the war they will not ask for it. They have gone to demonstrate that they are faithful to the salt they eat. In asking for Swaraj I feel that it is not possible for us to bring into account their services. The only thing we can say is that we may not be considered blameworthy for our inability to take a large active part in the prosecution of the war.

That we have been loyal at a time of stress is no test of fitness for Swaraj. Loyalty is no merit. It is a necessity of citizenship all the world over. That loyalty can be no passport to Swaraj is a self-demonstrated maxim. Our fitness lies in that we now keenly desire Swaraj, and in the conviction we have reached that bureaucracy, although it has served India with pure intentions, has had its day. And this kind of fitness is sufficient for our purpose. Without Swaraj there is now no possibility of peace in India.

But if we confine our activities for advancing Swaraj only to holding meetings, the nation is likely to suffer harm. Meetings and speeches have their own place and time. *But they cannot make a Nation.*

In a nation fired with Swaraj-zeal we shall observe an awakening in all departments of life. The first step to Swaraj lies in the Individual. The great truth, 'As with the Individual so with the Universe,' is applicable here as elsewhere. If we are ever torn by conflict from within, if we are ever going astray, and if instead of ruling our passions we allow them to rule us, Swaraj can have no meaning for us. Government of self, then, is primary education in the school of Swaraj.

Then the Family. If dissensions reign supreme in our families, if brothers fight among themselves, if joint families, *i.e.*, families enjoying self-government, become divided through family quarrels, and if we are unfit even for such restricted Swaraj, how can we be considered fit for the larger Swaraj?

Now for the Caste. If caste-fellows become jealous of one another, if the castes cannot regulate their affairs in an orderly manner, if the elders want to usurp power, if the members become self-opinionated and thus show

their unfitness for tribal self-government, how can they be fit for national self-government ?

After caste the City Life. If we cannot regulate the affairs of our cities, if our streets are not kept clean, if our homes are dilapidated and if our roads are crooked, if we cannot command the services of selfless citizens for civic government, and those who are in charge of affairs are neglectful or selfish, how shall we claim larger powers ? The way to national life lies through the cities. It is, therefore, necessary to linger a little longer on civic government.

The plague has found a home in India. Cholera has been always with us. Malaria takes an annual toll of thousands. The plague has been driven out from every other part of the world. Glasgow drove it out as soon as it entered it. In Johannesburg it could appear but once. Its municipality made a great effort and stamped it out within a month, whereas we are able to produce little impression upon it. We cannot blame the Government for this state of things. In reality we cannot make our poverty answerable for it. None can interfere with us in the prosecution of any remedies that we might wish to adopt. Ahmedabad, for instance, cannot evade responsibility by pleading poverty. I fear that in respect of the plague we must shoulder the whole responsibility. It is a matter of wonderment that when the plague is working havoc in our rural quarters, cantonments, as a rule, remain free. Reasons for such immunity are obvious. In the cantonments the atmosphere is pure, houses detached, roads are wide and clean, the sanitary habits of the residents are exceptionally sound. Whereas ours are as unhygienic as they well could be. Our closets are pestilentially dirty.

Ninety per cent of our population go barefoot, people spit anywhere, perform natural functions anywhere and are obliged to walk along roads and paths thus dirtied. It is no wonder that the plague has found a home in our midst.

Unless we alter the conditions of our cities, rid ourselves of dirty habits, and reform our castes, Swaraj for us can have no value.

It will not be considered out of place here to refer to the condition of the so-called untouchables. The result of considering the most useful members of society as unworthy of being even touched by us, has been that we let them clean only a part of our closets. In the name of religion we ourselves would not clean the remainder, for fear of pollution, and so in spite of personal cleanliness, a portion of our houses remains the dirtiest in the world, with the result that we are brought up in an atmosphere which is laden with disease germs. We were safe so long as we kept to our villages. But in the cities we ever commit suicide by reason of our insanitary habits.

Where many die before their death there is every probability that people are devoid of both religion and its practice. I believe that it ought not to be beyond us to banish the plague from India, and if we could do so, we shall have increased our fitness for Swaraj, as it could not be by agitation, no matter howsoever great. This is a question meriting the serious consideration of our Doctors and Vaidyas.

Our sacred Dakorji is our next door neighbour. I have visited that holy place. Its unholiness is limitless. I consider myself a devout Vaishnavite. I claim, therefore, a special privilege of criticising the condition of Dakorji. The insanitation of that place is so great, that one used to hygienic conditions can hardly bear to pass

even twenty-four hours there. The pilgrims are permitted to pollute the tank and the streets as they choose. The keepers of the idol quarrel among themselves, and to add insult to injury, a receiver has been appointed to take charge of the jewellery and costly robes of the idol. It is our clear duty to set this wrong right. How shall we, Gujaratis, bent on attaining Swaraj, discharge ourselves in its army, if we cannot sweep our houses clean?

The inconsideration of the state of education in our cities also fills us with despondency. It is up to us to provide by private effort for the education of the masses. But our gaze is fixed upon Government, whilst our children are starving for want of education.

In the cities the drink-evil is on the increase, tea-shops are multiplying, gambling is rampant. If we cannot remedy these evils how should we attain Swaraj whose meaning is government of ourselves?

We have reached a time when we and our children are likely to be deprived of our milk-supply. Dairies in Gujarat are doing us infinite harm. They buy out practically the whole milk-supply and sell its products, butter, cheese etc., in a wider market. How can a nation whose nourishment is chiefly derived from milk allow this important article of food to be thus exploited? How can men be heedless of the national health, and think of enriching themselves, by such an improper use of this article of diet? Milk and its products are of such paramount value to the nation that they deserve to be controlled by the municipalities. What are we doing about them?

I have just returned from the scene of Bakr-Id riots For an insignificant cause, the two communities quarrelled, mischievous men took advantage of it, and a mere spark became a blaze. We were found to be helpless. We

have been obliged to depend only upon Government assistance. This is a significant illustration of the condition I am trying to describe.

It will not be inopportune to dwell for a moment on the question of cow-protection. It is an important question. And yet it is entrusted to the so-called cow-protection societies. The protection of cows is an old custom. It has originated in the necessity of the condition of the country. Protection of its cows is incumbent upon a country, 73 per cent of whose population lives upon agriculture, and uses only bullocks for it. In such a country even meat-eaters should abstain from beef-eating. These natural causes should be enough justification for not killing cows. But here we have to face a peculiar situation. The chief meaning of cow-protection seems to be to prevent cows from going into the hands of our Mussalman brethren, and being used as food. The governing class seem to need beef. In their behalf thousands of cows are slaughtered daily. We take no steps to prevent the slaughter. We hardly make any attempt to prevent the cruel torture of cows by certain Hindu dairies of Calcutta, which subject them to certain indescribable practices and make them yield the last drop of milk. In Gujarat Hindu drivers use spiked sticks to goad bullocks into action. We say nothing about it. The bullocks of our cities are to be seen in a pitiable condition. Indeed, protection of the cow and her progeny is a very great problem. With us it has degenerated into a pretext for quarrelling with the Mahomedans, and we have thus contributed to a further slaughter of cows. It is not religion, but want of it, to kill a Mahomedan brother who declines to part with his cow. I feel sure that if we were to negotiate with our Mussalman brothers upon a basis of love, they will appreciate the pecu-

liar condition of India and readily co-operate with us in the protection of cows. By courtesy and even by Satyagraha we can engage them in that mission. But in order to be able to do this, we shall have to understand the question in its true bearing. We shall have to prepare rather to die than to kill. But we shall be able to do this only when we understand the real value of the cow and have pure love for her. Many ends will be automatically served in achieving this one end. Hindus and Mahomedans will live in peace, milk and its products will be available in a pure condition and will be cheaper than now, and our bullocks will become the envy of the world. By real *tapasya* it is possible for us to stop cow-slaughter whether by the English, Mahomedans or Hindus. This one act will bring Swaraj many a step nearer.

Many of the foregoing problems belong to Municipal Government. We can, therefore, clearly see that *National Government is dependent upon purity of the government of our cities.*

It will not be considered an improper statement to say that the Swadeshi movement is in an insane condition. We do not realise that Swaraj is almost wholly obtainable through Swadeshi. If we have no regard for our respective vernaculars, if we dislike our clothes, if our dress repels us, if we are ashamed to wear the sacred *Shikha*, if our food is distasteful to us, our climate is not good enough, our people uncouth and unfit for our company, our civilisation faulty and the foreign attractive, in short, if everything native is bad and everything foreign pleasing to us, I should not know what Swaraj can mean for us. If everything foreign is to be adopted, surely it will be necessary for us to continue long under foreign tutelage, because foreign civilisation has not

yet permeated the masses. It seems to me that before we can appreciate Swaraj, we should have not only love, but passion, for Swadeshi. Every one of our acts should bear the Swadeshi stamp. Swaraj can only be built upon the assumption that most of what is national is on the whole sound. If the view here put forth be correct, the Swadeshi movement ought to be carried on vigorously. Every country that has carried on the Swaraj movement has fully appreciated the Swadeshi spirit. The Scotch Highlanders hold on to their kilts even at the risk of their lives. We humorously call the Highlanders the 'petticoat brigade.' But the whole world testifies to the strength that lies behind that petticoat and the Highlanders of Scotland will not abandon it, even though it is an inconvenient dress, and an easy target for the enemy. The object in developing the foregoing argument is not that we should treasure our faults, but that what is national, even though comparatively less agreeable, should be adhered to, and that what is foreign should be avoided, though it may be more agreeable than our own. That which is wanting in our civilisation can be supplied by proper effort on our part. I do hope that the Swadeshi spirit will possess every member in this assembly, and that we would carry out the Swadeshi vow in spite of great difficulties and inconvenience. Then Swaraj will be easy of attainment.

The foregoing illustration go to show that our movement should be twofold. We may petition the Government, we may agitate in the Imperial Council for our rights, but for a real awakening of the people, internal activity is more important. There is likelihood of hypocrisy and selfishness tainting external activity.

There is less danger of such a catastrophe in the internal activity. Not only will external activity without being balanced by the internal lack grace, but it is likely to be barren of results. It is not my contention that we have no internal activity at all, but I submit that we do not lay enough stress upon it.

One sometimes hears it said, 'Let us get the government of India in our own hands, and every thing will be all right.' There could be no greater superstition than this. No nation has thus gained its independence. The splendour of the spring is reflected in every tree, the whole earth is then filled with the freshness of youth. Similarly when the Swaraj spirit has really permeated society, a stranger suddenly come upon us will observe energy in every walk of life, he will find national servants engaged, each according to his own abilities, in a variety of public activities.

If we admit that our progress has not been what it might have been, we shall have to admit two reasons for it. We have kept our women strangers to these activities of ours, and have thus brought about paralysis of half the national limb. The nation walks with one leg only. All its work appears to be only half or incompletely done. Moreover, the learned section having received its education through a foreign tongue, has become enervated, and it is unable to give the nation the benefit of such ability as it possesses. I need not reiterate my views on this subject, as I have elaborated them in my address delivered before the Gujarat Educational Conference. It is a wise decision, that of conducting the proceedings of this Conference in Gujarati, and I hope that all Gujaratis will adhere to the determination and resist every temptation to alter it.

The educated classes, lovers of Swaraj, must freely mix with the masses. We dare not reject a single member of the community. We shall make progress only if we carry all with us. Had the educated class identified itself with the masses Bakr-Id riots would have been an impossibility.

Before coming to the last topic, it remains for me to refer to certain events as a matter of duty, and to make one or two suggestions. Every year the god of death exacts his toll from among our leaders. I do not intend to mention all such occasions of sorrow. But it is impossible to omit reference to the Grand Old Man of India. Who am I to estimate the value of the service rendered to the country by the deceased patriot? I have only sat at his feet. I paid my respects to him when I went to London as a mere lad. I was privileged to carry with me a note of introduction to him, and from the moment of presentation I became his worshipper, Dadabhai's flawless and uninterrupted service to the country, his impartiality, his spotless character, will always furnish India with an ideal servant of his country. May God give him peace! May He grant his family and the Nation the ability to bear the loss! It is possible for us to immortalise him, by making his character our own, by copying his manner of service and by enthroning him for ever in our hearts. May the great soul of Dadabhai watch over our deliberations!

It is our duty to express our thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for having announced the decision of the Government of India to abolish what is known as the Viramgam customs. This step should have been taken earlier. The nation was groaning under the weight of this impost. Many have lost their calling by

reason of it. It has caused much suffering to many a woman. The decision has not yet been reduced to practice. It is to be hoped that it will soon be.

I have submitted through the Press my experiences about the hardships of third class railway travellers. They are, indeed, intolerable. The people of India are docile, they have received training in silent suffering. Thousands, therefore, put up with the hardships and they remain unredressed. There is merit in such suffering. But it must have its limits. Submission out of weakness is unmanliness. That we tamely put up with the hardships of railway travelling is probably proof of our unmanliness. These hardships are twofold. They are due to the remissness of railway administration as also that of the travelling public. The remedies are also, therefore, twofold. Where the railway administration is to blame, complaints should be addressed to it, even in Gujarati. The matter should be ventilated in the press. Where the public are to blame, the knowing travellers should enlighten their ignorant companions, as to their carelessness and dirty habits. Volunteers are required for this purpose. Every one can do his share, according to his ability, and the leading men might, in order to appreciate the difficulties of third class travelling, resort to it from time to time, without making themselves known, and bring their experiences to the notice of the administration. If these remedies are adopted, we should, in a short time see great changes.

An inter-departmental committee recently sat in London to consider certain measures about the supply of indentured labour to Fiji and the other sister islands. The Report of that committee has been published and the Government of India have invited the opinion of the

public upon it. I need not dwell at length upon the matter as I have submitted my views already through the press. I have given it as my opinion that the recommendations of the committee, if adopted, will result in a kind of indenture. We can therefore only come to one conclusion. We can have no desire to see our labouring classes emigrating under bondage in any shape or form. There is no need for such emigration. The law of indenture should be totally abolished. It is no part of our duty to provide facilities for the Colonies.

I now reach the concluding topic. There are two methods of attaining the desired end: Truthful and Truthless. In our scriptures they have been described respectively as divine and devilish. In the path of Satyagraha there is always unflinching adherence to Truth. It is never to be forsaken on any account, not even for the sake of one's country. The final triumph of Truth is always assumed for the divine method. Its votary does not abandon it, even though at times the path seems impenetrable and beset with difficulties and dangers, and a departure however slight from that straight path may appear full of promise. His faith even then shines resplendent like the midday sun and he does not despond. With truth for sword, he needs neither steel nor gunpowder. He conquers the enemy by the force of the soul, which is Love. Its test is not to be found among friends. There is neither newness, nor merit, nor yet effort in a friend loving a friend. It is tested truly when it is bestowed on the so-called enemy; it then becomes a virtue, there is effort in it, it is an act of manliness and real bravery. We can adopt this method towards the Government and doing so, we should be in a position to appreciate their beneficial activities and with greater ease correct their errors because

we should draw attention to them not in anger but in Love. Love does not act through fear. There can therefore, be no weakness in its expression. A coward is incapable of exhibiting Love, it is prerogative of the brave. Following this method we shall not look upon all Governmental activity with suspicion, we shall not ascribe bad motives to them. And our examination of their actions, being directly by Love, will be unerring and is bound therefore to carry conviction with them.

Love has its struggles. In the intoxication of power man often fails to detect his mistakes. When that happens a Passive Resister does not sit still. He suffers. He disobeys the ruler's laws and orders in a civil manner, and willingly incurs hardships caused by such disobedience, [*e.g.*, imprisonment and gallows.] Thus is the soul disciplined. Here there is no waste of energy, and any untoward results of such respectful disobedience are suffered merely by him and his companions. A Passive Resister is not at sixes and sevens with those in power but the latter willingly yield to him. *They know that they cannot effectively exercise force against the Passive Resister. Without his concurrence they cannot make him do their will. And this is the full fruition of Swaraj, because in it is complete independence.* It need not be taken for granted that such decorous resistance is possible only in respect of civilised rulers. Even a heart of flint will melt in front of a fire kindled by the power of the soul. Even a Nero becomes a lamb when he faces Love. This is no exaggeration. It is as true as an algebraical equation. This Satyagraha is India's special weapon. It has had others, but Satyagraha has commanded greater attention. It is omnipresent, and is capable of being used at all times and under all circumstances. It does not require a Congress license. He who

knows its power cannot help using it. Even as the eye-lashes automatically protect the eyes, so does Satyagraha when kindled automatically protect the Freedom of the Soul.

But truthlessness has opposite attributes. The terrible war going on in Europe is a case in point. Why should a nation's cause be considered right and another's wrong because it overpowers the latter by sheer brute force? The strong are often seen preying upon the weak. The wrongness of the latter's cause is not to be inferred from their defeat in a trial of brute strength, nor is the rightness of the strong to be inferred from their success in such a trial The wielder of brute force does not scruple about the means to be used. He does not question the propriety of means, if he can somehow achieve his purpose. This is not Dharma, it is Adharma. In Dharma, there cannot be a particle of untruth, cruelty or the taking of life. The measure of Dharma is the measure of love, kindness, truth. Heaven itself is no acceptable exchange for them. Swaraj itself is useless at the sacrifice of Truth. Sacrifice of Truth is the foundation of a nation's destruction. The believer in brute force becomes impatient and desires the death of the so-called enemy. There can be but one result of such an activity. Hatred increases. The defeated party vows vengeance, and simply bides his time. Thus does the spirit of revenge descend from father to son. It is much to be wished that India may not give predominance to the worship of brute force. If the members of this assembly will deliberately accept Satyagraha, in laying down its own programme, they will reach their goal all the easier for it: They may have to face disappointment in the initial stages. They may not see results for a time. But Satyagraha will triumph in the end. The brute-force-

man like the oilman's ox moves in a circle. It is a motion, but it is not progress. Whereas the votary of Truth-force ever moves forward.

A superficial critic reading the foregoing is likely to conclude that the views herein expressed are mutually destructive. On the one hand I appeal to the Government to give military training to the people. On the other I put Satyagraha on the pedestal. Surely there can be no room for the use of arms in Satyagraha, nor is there any. But military training is intended for those who do not believe in Satyagraha. That the whole of India will ever accept Satyagraha is beyond my imagination. Not to defend the weak is an entirely effeminate idea, everywhere to be rejected. In order to protect our innocent sister from the brutal designs of a man we ought to offer ourselves a willing sacrifice and by the force of Love conquer the brute in the man. But if we have not attained that power, we would certainly use up all our bodily strength in order to frustrate those designs. The votaries of soul-force and brute-force are both soldiers. The latter, bereft of his arms, acknowledges defeat, the former does not know what defeat is. He does not depend upon the perishable body and its weapons, but he derives his strength from the unconquerable and immortal soul. The thing outside the two is not a man, for he does not recognise the Dweller within him. If he did, he would not take fright and run away from danger. Like a miser trying to save his flesh, he loses all, he does not know how to die. But the armoured soldier always has death by him as a companion. There is hope of his becoming a Passive Resister, and one has a right to hope that India, the holy land of the gods, will ever give the predominant place to the divine force, rather than to the

brute force. Might is right, is a formula which, let us hope, will never find acceptance in India. Her formula is, Truth alone conquers.

Upon reflection, we find that we can employ Satyagraha even for social reform. We can rid ourselves of many defects in our social institutions. We can settle the Hindu-Mohammedan problem, and we can deal with political questions. It is well that for the sake of facilitating progress we divide our activities according to the subjects handled. But it should never be forgotton that all are inter-related. It is not true to say that neither religion nor social reform has anything to do with politics. The result obtained by bringing religion into play in the consideration of political subjects will be different from that obtained without it. The Hindus can ill afford to neglect 56 lakhs of ignorant Sadhus in considering political matters. Our Mussalman brethren cannot lose sight of their Fakeers. In advancing political progress, the condition of our widows and child marriages must have their proper place, and the purdah must tax Mussalman wit. Nor can we, Hindus and Muhammedans, in considering politics shut our eyes to scores of questions that arise between us.

Indeed our difficulties are like the Himalayas. But we have equally powerful means at our disposal for removing them. We are children of an ancient nation. We have witnessed the burial of civilizations, those of Rome, Greece, and Egypt. Our civilization abides even as the ocean in spite of its ebbs and flows. We have all we need to keep ourselves independent. We have the mountains that kiss the sky, we have the mighty rivers. We have the matchless beauties of nature, and we have handed down to us a heritage of deeds of volour. This country

is the treasure-house of *tapasya*. In this country alone do people belonging to different religions live together in amity. In this country alone do all the gods receive their due measure of worship. We shall disgrace our heritage, and our connection with the British nation will be vain, if in spite of such splendid equipment, by some unique effort we do not conquer our conquerors. The English nation is full of adventure, the religious spirit guides it, it has unquenchable faith in itself, it is a nation of great soldiers, it treasures its independence, but it has given the place of honour to its commercial instinct, it has not always narrowly examined the means adopted for seeking wealth. It worships modern civilisation. The ancient ideals have lost their hold upon it. If, therefore, instead of imitating that nation we do not forget our past, we have real regard for our civilisation, we have firm faith in its supremacy, we shall be able to make a proper use of our connection with the British nation, and make it beneficial to ourselves, to them and to the whole world. I pray to the Almighty that this assembly taking its full share of this great work may shed lustre upon itself, upon Gujarat, and upon the whole of Bharatavarsha.

ADDRESS TO SOCIAL SERVICE CONFERENCE

Mr. Gandhi delivered the following address as President of the First all India Social Service Conference held at Calcutta in December 27, 1917.

Friends, I thank you for the honour you have conferred upon me. I was totally unprepared for the invitation to preside over the deliberations of this assembly. I do not know that I am fitted for the task. Having fixed views about the use of Hindi at national gatherings, I am always disinclined to speak in English. And I felt that the time was not ripe for me to ask to be allowed to deliver the Presidential Speech in Hindi. Moreover, I have not much faith in conferences. Social Service to be effective has to be rendered without noise. It is best performed when the left hand knoweth not what the right is doing. Sir Gibbie's work told because nobody knew it. He could not be spoiled by praise or held back by blame. Would that our service were of this nature. Holding such views, it was not without considerable hesitation and misgivings that I obeyed the summons of the Reception Committee. You will, therefore, pardon me if you find in me a candid critic rather than an enthusiast carrying the conference to its goal with confidence and assurance.

It seems to me then that I cannot do better than draw attention to some branches of Social Service which we have hitherto more or less ignored.

The greatest service we can render society is to free ourselves and it from the superstitious regard we have learnt to pay to the learning of the English language. It

is the medium of instruction in our schools and colleges. It is becoming the *lingua franca* of the country. Our best thoughts are expressed in it. Lord Chelmsford hopes that it will soon take the place of the mother tongue in high families. This belief in the necessity of English training has enslaved us. It has unfitted us for true national service. Were it not for force of habit, we could not fail to see that by reason of English being the medium of instruction, our intellect has been segregated, we have been isolated from the masses, the best mind of the nation has become gagged and the masses have not received the benefit of the new ideas we have received. We have been engaged these past sixty years in memorising strange words and their pronunciation instead of assimilating facts. In the place of building upon the foundation, training received from our parents, we have almost unlearnt it. There is no parallel to this in History. It is a national tragedy. The first and the greatest Social Service we can render is to revert to our vernaculars, to restore Hindi to its natural place as the National Language and begin carrying on all our provincial proceedings in our respective vernaculars and national proceedings in Hindi. We ought not to rest till our schools and colleges give us instruction through the vernaculars. It ought not to be necessary even for the sake of our English friends to have to speak in English. Every English Civil and Military Officer has to know Hindi. Most English merchants learn it because they need it for their business. The day must soon come when our legislatures will debate national affairs in the vernaculars or Hindi as the case may be. Hitherto the masses have been strangers to their proceedings. The vernacular papers have tried to undo the mischief a little. But the task was beyond them. The *Patrika* reserves its

biting sarcasm, the *Bengalee* its learning for ears tuned to English. In this ancient land of cultured thinkers the presence in our midst of a Tagore or a Bose or a Ray ought not to excite wonder. Yet the painful fact is that there are so few of them. You will forgive me if I have carried too long on a subject which in your opinion may hardly be treated as an item of Social Service. I have however taken the liberty of mentioning the matter prominently as it is my conviction that all national activity suffers materially owing to this radical defect in our system of education.

Coming to more familiar items of Social Service, the list is appalling. I shall select only those of which I have any knowledge.

Work in times of sporadic distress such as famine and floods is no doubt necessary and most praiseworthy. But it produces no permanent results. There are fields of Social Service in which there may be no renown but which may yield lasting results.

In 1914, cholera, fevers and plague together claimed 4,639,663 victims. If so many had died fighting on the battlefield during the war that is at present devastating Europe we would have covered ourselves with glory and lovers of Swaraj would need no further argument in support of their cause. As it is 4,639,663 have died a lingering death unmourned and their dying has brought us nothing but discredit. A distinguished Englishman said the other day that Englishmen did all the thinking for us whilst we sat supine. He added that most Englishmen basing their opinions on their English experience presented impossible or costly remedies for the evils they investigated. There is much truth in the above statement. In other countries reformers have suc-

cessfully grappled with epidemics. Here Englishmen have tried and failed. They have thought along western lines ignoring the vast differences, climatic and other, between Europe and India. Our doctors and physicians have practically done nothing I am sure that half-a-dozen medical men of the front rank dedicating their lives to the work of eradicating the triple curse would succeed where Englishmen have failed. I venture to suggest that the way lies not through finding out cures but through finding or rather applying preventive methods. I prefer to use the participle 'applying' for I have it on the aforementioned authority that to drive out plague (and I add cholera and malaria) is absurdly simple. There is no conflict of opinion as to the preventive methods. We simply do not apply them. We have made up our minds that the masses will not adopt them. There could be no greater calumny uttered against them. If we would but stoop to conquer, they can be easily conquered. The truth is that we expect the Government to do the work. In my opinion, in this matter, the Government cannot lead; they can follow and help if we could lead. Here, then, there is work enough for our doctors and an army of workers to help them. I note that you in Bengal are working somewhat in this direction. I may state that a small but earnest band of volunteers are at the present moment engaged in doing such work in Champaran. They are posted in different villages. There they teach the village children, they give medical aid to the sick and they give practical lessons in hygiene to the village folk by cleaning their wells and roads and showing them how to treat human excreta. Nothing can yet be predicted as to results as the experiment is in its infancy. This Conference may usefully appoint a committee of doctors who would study rural conditions on the

spot and draw up a course of instructions for the guidance of workers and of the people at large.

Nothing perhaps affords such splendid facility to every worker, wholetime or otherwise, for effective service as the relief of agony through which the 3rd class railway passengers are passing. I feel keenly about this grievance not because I am in it but I have gone to it as I have felt keenly about it. This matter affects millions of our poor and middle class countrymen. This helpless toleration of every inconvenience and insult is visibly deteriorating the nation even as the cruel treatment to which we have subjected the so-called depressed classes has made them indifferent to the laws of personal cleanliness and the very idea of self-respect. What else but down-right degradation can await those who have to make a scramble always like mad animals for seats in a miserable compartment, who have to swear and curse before they can speak through the window in order to get standing room, who have to wallow in dirt during their journey, who are served their food like dogs and eat it like them, who have ever to bend before those who are physically stronger than they and who being packed like sardines in compartments have to get such sleep as they can in a sitting posture for nights together. Railway servants swear at them, cheat them. On the Howrah-Lahore service our friends from Kabul fill to the brim the cup of the misery of the third class travellers. They become lords of the compartments they enter. It is not possible for any one to resist them. They swear at you on the slightest pretext, exhaust the whole of the obscene vocabulary of the Hindi language. They do not hesitate to belabour you if you retort or in any way oppose them. They usurp the best seats and insist on stretching them-

selves full length even in crowded compartments. No compartment is deemed too crowded for them to enter. The travellers patiently bear all their awful impertinence out of sheer helplessness. They would, if they could, knock down the man who dared to swear at them as do these Kabulis. But they are physically no match for the Kabulis and every Kabuli considers himself more than a match for any number of travellers from the plains. This is not right. The effect of this terrorising on the national character cannot but be debasing. We the educated few ought to deliver the travelling public from this scourage or for ever renounce our claim to speak on its behalf or to guide it. I believe the Kabulis to be amenable to reason. They are a God-fearing people. If you know their language, you can successfully appeal to their good sense. But they are spoilt children of nature. Cowards among us have used their undoubted physical strength for our nefarious purposes. And they have now come to think that they can treat poor people as they choose and consider themselves above the law of the land. Here is work enough for Social Service. Volunteers for this class of work can board trains and educate the people to a sense of their duty, call in guards and other officials in order to remove over-crowding, see that passengers leave and board trains without a scramble. It is clear that until the Kabulis can be patiently taught to behave themselves, they ought to have a compartment all to themselves and they ought not to be permitted to enter any other compartment. With the exception of providing additional plant, every one of the other evils attendant on railway travelling ought to be immediately redressed. It is no answer that we have suffered the wrong so long. Prescriptive rights cannot accrue to wrongs.

No less important is the problem of the depressed classes. To lift them from the position to which Hindu society has reduced them is to remove a big blot on Hinduism. The present treatment of these classes is a sin against religion and humanity.

But the work requires service of the highest order. We shall make little headway by merely throwing schools at them. We must change the attitude of the masses and of orthodoxy. I have already shown that we have cut ourselves adrift from both. We do not react on them. We can do so only if we speak to them in their own language. An anglicised India cannot speak to them with effect. If we believe in Hinduism we must approach them in the Hindu fashion. We must do *tapsya* and keep our Hinduism undefiled. Pure and enlightened orthodoxy must be matched against superstitious and ignorant orthodoxy. To restore to their proper status a fifth of our total population is a task worthy of any Social Service organisation.

The bustees of Calcutta and the chawls of Bombay badly demand the devoted services of hundreds of social workers. They send our infants to an early grave and promote vice, degradation and filth.

Apart from the fundamental evil arising out of our defective system of education I have hitherto dealt with evils calling for service among the masses. The classes perhaps demand no less attention than the masses. It is my opinion that all evils like diseases are symptoms of the same evil or disease. They appear various by being refracted through different media. The root evil is loss of true spirituality brought about through causes I cannot examine from this platform. We have lost the robust faith of our forefathers in the absolute efficacy of *Satya* (truth) *Ahimsa* (love) and *Brahmacharya* (Self-restraint.)

We certainly believe in them to an extent. They are the best policy but we may deviate from them if our untrained reason suggests deviation. We have not faith enough to feel that though the present outlook seems black, if we follow the dictates of truth or love or exercise self-restraint, the ultimate result must be sound. Men whose spiritual vision has become blurred mostly look to the present rather than conserve the future good. He will render the greatest social service who will re-instate us in our ancient spirituality. But humble men that we are, it is enough for us if we recognise the loss and by such ways as are open to us prepare the way for the man who will infect us with his power and enable us to feel clearly through the heart, things we are to-day unable to perceive through our reason.

Looking then at the classes I find that our Rajahs and Maharajahs squander their resources after so called useless sport and drink. I was told the other day that the cocaine habit was sapping the nation's manhood and that like the drink habit it was on the increase and in its effect more deadly than drink. It is impossible for a social worker to blind himself to the evil. We dare not ape the West. We are a nation that has lost its prestige and its self-respect. Whilst a tenth of our population is living on the verge of starvation, we have no time for indulging ourselves. What the West may do with impunity is likely in our case to prove our ruin. The evils that are corroding the higher strata of society are difficult for an ordinary worker to tackle. They have acquired a certain degree of respectability. But they ought not to be beyond the reach of this Conference.

Equally important is the question of the status of women both Hindu and Mahomedans. Are they or are

they not to play their full part in the plan of regeneration alongside of their husband? They must be enfranchised. They can no longer be treated either as dolls or slaves without the social body remaining in a condition of social paralysis. And here again I would venture to suggest to the reformer that the way to woman's freedom is not through education but through the change of attitude on the part of men and corresponding action. Education is necessary but it must follow the freedom. We dare not wait for literary education to restore our womanhood to its proper state. Even without literary education our women are as cultured as any on the face of the earth. The remedy largely lies in the hands of husbands.

It makes my blood boil as I wander through the country and watch lifeless and fleshless oxen with their ribs sticking through their skins, carrying loads or ploughing our fields. To improve the breed of our cattle, to rescue them from the cruelty practised on them by their cow-worshipping masters and to save them from the slaughter house is to solve half the problem of our poverty. ..... We have to educate the people to a humane use of their cattle and plead with the Government to conserve the pasture land of the country. Protection of the cow is an economic necessity. It can not be brought about by force. It can only be achieved by an appeal to the finer feelings of our English friends and our Mahomedan countrymen to save the cow from the slaughter-house. This question involves the overhauling of the management of our Pinjrapoles and cow-protection societies. A proper solution of this very difficult problem means establishment of perfect concord between Hindus and Mahomedans and an end of Bākr-id riots.

I have glanced at the literature kindly furnished at my request by the several Leagues who are rendering admirable Social Service. I note that some have included in their programme many of the items mentioned by me. All the Leagues are non-sectarian and they have as their members the most distinguished men and women in the land. The possibilities for services of a far reaching character are therefore great. But if the work is to leave its impress on the nation, we must have workers who are prepared, in Mr. Gokhale's words,—to dedicate their lives to the cause. Give me such workers and I promise they will rid the land of all the evils that afflict it.

HOME RULE

Mr. Gandhi sent the following message to the first number of the "Home Ruler" published on the 5th January, 1918 :—

I have been asked to write a message to the *Home Ruler*. The words "Home Rule" express the idea of the management of one's own affairs by oneself. It is a truism to say that only he can govern the community who can manage the affairs of his own house properly. The man whose house is not clean cannot be expected to keep his locality in a sanitary state. It is therefore our duty to set right the affairs of our own house. And for this it is necessary that we should carry on internal activity for Home Rule. External activity should of course go on; but side by side with it, inner progress should be made. Internal improvement includes social and other reforms. If the readers of the *Home Ruler* realize this, and act accordingly, I am certain that we will not be disappointed.

THE PROTECTION OF THE COW

Mr. Gandhi published the following reply in the " Statesman" of January 19, 1918 *to Mr. Irwin's attack on Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi in the columns of the same journal :—*

Mr. Irwin's latest letter published in your issue of the 12th instant compels me to court the hospitality of your columns. So long as your correspondent confined himself to matters directly affecting himself, his misrepresentations did not much matter, as the real facts were as much within the knowledge of the Government and those who are concerned with the agrarian question in Champaran, as within mine. But in the letter under notice, he has travelled outside his jurisdiction as it were, and unchivalrously attacked one of the most innocent women walking on the face of the earth (and this I say although she happens to be my wife) and has unpardonably referred to a question of the greatest moment, I mean, the cow-protection question, without taking the precaution as behoves a gentleman of ascertaining facts at first hand.

My address to the *Gau-rakshini Sabha* he could have easily obtained upon application to me. This at least was due to me as between man and man. Your correspondent accuses me of ' making a united attack on *saheb log* (their landlords) who slaughter and eat cows daily.' This presupposes that I was addressing a comparatively microscopic audience of the planters' raiyats. The fact is that the audience was composed chiefly of the non-raiyat class. But I had in mind a much bigger audience, and not merely the few thousand hearers before me. I spoke under a full

sense of my responsibility. The question of cow-protection is, in my opinion, as large as the Empire to which Mr. Irwin and I belong. I know that he is the proud father of a young lad of 24, who has received by his gallantry the unique honour of a Colonelcy at his age. Mr. Irwin can, if he will, obtain a greater honour for himself by studying the cow question and taking his full share in its solution. He will, I promise, be then much better occupied, than when he is dashing off his misrepresentations to be published in the press, and most unnecessarily preparing to bring 2,200 cases against his tenants for the sake of deriving the questionable pleasure of deeming me responsible for those cases.

I said at the meeting that the Hindus had no warrant for resenting the slaughter of cows by their Mahomedan brethren who kill them from religious conviction, so long as they themselves were a party to the killing by inches of thousands of cattle who were horribly ill-treated by their Hindu owners, to the drinking of milk drawn from cows in the inhuman dairies of Calcutta, and so long as they calmly contemplated the slaughter of thousands of cattle in the slaughter houses of India for providing beef for the European or Christian residents of India. I suggested that the first step towards procuring full protection for cows was to put their own house in order by securing absolute immunity from ill-treatment of their cattle by Hindus themselves, and then to appeal to the Europeans to abstain from beef-eating whilst resident in India, or at least to procure beef from outside India. I added that in no case could the cow protection propaganda, if it was to be based upon religious conviction, tolerate a sacrifice of Mahomedans for the sake of saving cows, that the religious method of securing protection from Christians and Maho-

medans alike was for Hindus to offer themselves a willing sacrifice of sufficient magnitude to draw out the merciful nature of Christians and Mahomedans. Rightly or wrongly worship of the cow is ingrained in the Hindu nature and I see no escape from a most bigotted and sanguinary strife over this question between Christians and Mahomedans on the one hand and Hindus on the other except in the fullest recognition and practice by the Hindus of the religion of *ahimsa*, which it is my self-imposed and humble mission in life to preach. Let the truth be faced. It must not be supposed that Hindus feel nothing about the cow-slaughter going on for the European. I know that their wrath is to-day being buried under the awe inspired by the English rule. But there is not a Hindu throughout the length and breadth of India who does not expect one day to free his land from cow-slaughter. But contrary to the genius of Hinduism as I know it he would not mind forcing even at the point of the sword either the Christian or the Mahomedan to abandon cow-slaughter. I wish to play my humble part in preventing such a catastrophe and I thank Mr. Irwin for having provided me with an opportunity of inviting him and your readers to help me in my onerous mission. The mission may fail to prevent cow-slaughter. But there is no reason why by patient plodding and consistent practice it should not succeed in showing the folly, the stupidity and the inhumanity of committing the crime of killing a fellow human being for the sake of saving a fellow animal.

So much on behalf of the innocent cow. A word only for my innocent wife who will never even know the wrong your correspondent has done her. If Mr. Irwin would enjoy the honour of being introduced to her he will soon find out that Mrs. Gandhi is a simple woman almost

unlettered, who knows nothing of the two bazars mentioned by him, even as I knew nothing of them until very recently and sometime after the establishment of the rival bazaar referred to by Mr. Irwin. He will then further assure himself that Mrs. Gandhi has had no hand in its establishment and is totally incapable of managing such a bazaar. Lastly he will at once learn that Mrs. Gandhi's time is occupied in cooking for and serving the teachers conducting the school established in the *dehat* in question, in distributing medical relief and in moving amongst the women of the *dehat* with a view to giving them an idea of simple hygiene. Mrs. Gandhi, I may add, has not learnt the art of making speeches or addressing letters to the press.

As to the rest of the letter, the less said the better. It is so full of palpable mis-representations that it is difficult to deal with them with sufficient self-restraint, I can only say that I am trying to the best of my ability to fulfil the obligation, I hold myself under, of promoting good-will between planters and the raiyats, and if I fail it would not be due to want of efforts on my part, but it would be largely, if not entirely, due to the mischievous propaganda Mr. Irwin is carrying on openly and some others *sub rosa* in Champaran in order to nullify the effect of the report published by the Agrarian Committee, which was brought into being not as Mr. Irwin falsely suggests at my request, but by the agitation carried on, as your files would demonstrate, by Mr. Irwin and his friends of the Anglo-Indian Association. If he is wise he will abide by his written word, voluntarily and after full discussion and deliberation, given by him at Ranchi.

ON WOMANHOOD

The annual gathering of the Bombay Bhagini Samaj was held on Wednesday February 20, 1918, *at Morarji Gokuldas Hall, under the presidency of Mr. M. K. Gandhi. The annual report of the Samaj having been read by the General Secretary, the President distributed prizes to the pupils of the female classes, and delivered a very informing address on the education of women, in the course of which he said :—*

It is necessary to understand what we mean when we talk of the regeneration of women. It presupposes degeneration and if that is so we should further consider what led to it and how. It is our primary duty to have some very hard thinking on these points. In travelling all over India I have come to realize that all the existing agitation is confined to an infinitesimal section of our people who are really a mere speck in the vast firmament. Crores of people of both the sexes live in absolute ignorance of this agitation. Full eighty-five per cent of the people of this country pass their innocent days in a state of total detachment from what is going on around them. These men and women ignorant as they are do their "bit" in life well and properly. Both have the same education or rather the absence of education. Both are helping each other as they ought to do. If their lives are in any sense incomplete, the cause can be traced to the incompleteness of the lives of the remaining fifteen per cent. If my sisters of the Bhagini Samaj will make a close study of the lives of these 85 per cent of our people, it will provide them ample material for an excellent programme of work for the Samaj.

MAN MADE SOCIAL LAWS.

In the observations that I am going to make I will confine myself to the 15 per cent. abovementioned and even then it would be out of place to discuss the disabilities that are common both to men and women. The point for us to consider is the degeneration of our women relatively to our men. Legislation has been mostly the handiwork of men; and man has not always been fair and discriminate in performing that self-appointed task. The largest part of our effort in promoting the regeneration of women should be directed towards removing those blemishes which are represented in our Shastras as the necessary and ingrained characteristic of women. Who will attempt this and how? In my humble opinion in order to make the attempt we will have to produce women pure, firm and self-controlled as Sita, Damayanti and Draupadi. If we do produce them such modern sisters will receive the same homage from Hindu Society as is being paid to their prototypes of yore. Their words will have the same authority as the Shastras. We will feel ashamed of the stray reflections on them in our Smritis and will soon forget them. Such revolutions have occurred in Hinduism in the past and will still take place in the future, leading to the stability of our faith. I pray to God that this Association might soon produce such women as I have described above.

PLACE OF LITERARY EDUCATION.

We have now discussed the root cause of the degeneration of our women and have considered the ideals by the realization of which the present conditions of our women can be improved. The number of women who can realize those ideals will be necessarily very few and therefore, we will now consider what ordinary women can accomplish if

they would try. Their first attempt should be directed towards awakening in the minds of as many women as possible a proper sense of their present condition. I am not among those who believe that such an effort can be made through literary education only. To work on that basis would be to postpone indefinitely the accomplishment of our aims; I have experienced at every step that it is not at all necessary to wait so long. We can bring home to our women the sad realities of their present condition without in the first instance giving them any literary education. Woman is the companion of man gifted with equal mental capacities. She has the right to participate in the very minutest detail in the activities of man and she has an equal right of freedom and liberty with him. She is entitled to a supreme place in her own sphere of activity as man is in his. This ought to be the natural condition of things and not as a result only of learning to read and write. By sheer force of a vicious custom even the most ignorant and worthless men have been enjoying a superiority over women which they do not deserve and ought not to have. Many of our movements stop half-way because of the condition of our women. Much of our work does not yield appropriate results; our lot is like that of the penny wise and pound foolish trader who does not employ enough capital in his business.

FAULTY SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.

But although much good and useful work can be done without a knowledge of reading and writing yet it is my firm belief that you cannot always do without a knowledge thereof. It develops and sharpens one's intellect and it stimulates our power of doing good. I have never placed an unnecessarily high value on the knowledge of reading and writing. I am only attempting to assign its

proper place to it. I have pointed out from time to time there is no justification for men to deprive women or to deny to them equal rights on the ground of their illiteracy: but education is essential for enabling women to uphold these natural rights, to improve them and to spread them; again the true knowledge of self is unattainable by the millions who are without such education. Many a book is full of innocent pleasure and this will be denied to us without education. It is no exaggeration to say that a human being without education is not far removed from an animal. Education, therefore, is necessary for women as it is for men. Not that the methods of education should be identical in both cases. In the first place our state system of education is full of error and productive of harm in many respects. It should be eschewed by men and women alike. Even if it were free from its present blemishes I would not regard it is proper for women from all points of view. Man and woman are of equal rank but they are not identical. They are a peerless pair being supplementary to one another; each helps the other so what without the one the existence of the other cannot be conceived, and therefore it follows as a necessary corollary from these facts that anything that will impair the status of either of them will involve the equal ruin of them both. In framing any scheme of women's education this cardinal truth must be constantly kept in mind. Man is supreme in the outward activites of a married pair and therefore it is in the fitness of things that he should have a greater knowledge thereof. On the other hand home life is entirely the sphere of woman and therefore in domestic affairs, in the upbringing and education of children, women ought to have more knowledge. Not that knowledge should be divided into watertight

compartments or that some branches of knowledge should be closed to any one; but unless courses of instruction are based on a discriminating appreciation of these basic principles the fullest life of man and woman cannot be developed.

IS EDUCATION NECESSARY?

I should say a word or two as to whether English education is or is not necessary for our women. I have come to the conclusion that in the ordinary course of our lives neither our men nor our women need necessarily have any knowledge of English. True English is necessary for making a living and for active association in our political movements. I do not believe in women working for a living or undertaking commercial enterprize. The few women who may require or desire to have English education can very easily have their way by joining the schools for men. To introduce English education in schools meant for women could only lead to prolong our helplessness. I have often read and heard people saying that the rich treasures of English literature should be opened alike to men and women. I submit in all humility that there is some misapprehension in assuming such an attitude. No one intends to close these treasures against women while keeping them open for men. There is none on earth able to prevent you from studying the literature of the whole world if you are fond of literary tastes. But when courses of education have been framed with the needs of a particular society in view you cannot supply the requirements of the few who have cultivated a literary taste. In asking our men and women to spend less time in the study of English than they are doing now my object is not to deprive them of the pleasure which they are

likely to derive from it but I hold that the same pleasure can be obtained at less cost and trouble if we follow a more natural method. The world is full of many a gem of priceless beauty; but then these gems are not all of English setting. Other languages can well boast of productions of similar excellence; all these should be made available for our common people and that can only be done if our own learned men will undertake to translate them for us in our own languages.

UNSPEAKABLE SIN OF CHILD MARRIAGE.

Merely to have outlined a scheme of education as above is not to have removed the bane of child marriage from our society or to have conferred on our women an equality of rights. Let us now consider the case of our girls who disappear, so to say, from view after marriage. They are not likely to return to our schools. Conscious of the unspeakable and unthinkable sin of the child marriage of their daughters, their mothers cannot think of educating them or of otherwise making their dry life a cheerful one. The man who marries a young girl does not do so out of any altruistic motives but through sheer lust. Who is to rescue these girls? A proper answer to this question will also be a solution of the woman's problem. The answer is albeit difficult, but it is only one. There is of course none to champion her cause but her husband. It is useless to expect a child-wife to be able to bring round the man who has married her. The difficult work must, therefore, for the present at least be left to man. If I could I would take a census of child wives and will find the friends as well as through moral and polite exhortations I will attempt, to bring home to them the enormity of their crime in linking their fortunes with child wives and will warn them that there is no expiation for that sin

unless and until they have by education made their wives fit not only to bear children but also to bring them up properly and unless in the meantime they live a life of absoulte celibacy.

QUIET AND UNOBTRUSIVE WORK NEEDED.

Thus there are many fruitful fields of activity before the members of the Bhagini Samaj for devoting their energies to. The field for work is so vast that if resolute application is brought to bear thereon the wider movements for reform may for the present well be left to themselves and great service can be done to the cause of Home Rule without so much as even a verbal reference to it. When printing presses were non-existent and scope for speech-making very limited, when one could hardly travel twenty-four miles in the course of a day instead of a thousand miles as now, we had only one agency for propagating our ideals and that was our 'Acts'; and acts had immense potency. We are now rushing to and fro with the velocity of air delivering speeches, writing newspaper articles and yet we fall short of our accomplishments and the cry of despair fills the air. I for one am of opinion that as in old days our acts will have a more powerful influence on the public than any number of speeches and writings. It is my earnest prayer to your Association that its members should give prominence to quiet and unobtrusiue work in whatever it does.

PLEA FOR HINDI

Mr. Gandhi wrote the following letter to the press under date Indore, March 3, 1918 *soon after the conclusion of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan :*

At the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan just closing a committee consisting of the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Bishen Dutta Shukla, Rai Bahadur Saryoo Prasad Babu Shiva-Prasad Gupta, Babu Purushottam Das Tandon, Babu Gauri Shanker Prasad, Pandit Venkatesha Narayan Tiwari and myself, was appointed as a special committee to give effect to certain resolutions of the Sammelan. One of the instructions given to the committee is to find out six Tamil and Telugu youths of promise and good character who would undertake to learn Hindi with a view to ultimately becoming missionaries for the propagation of Hindi among the Tamil and the Telugu people. It has been proposed to locate them either at Allahabad or at Benares, and to teach them Hindi. Expenses of their board and lodging as well as instruction will be paid for by the Committee. It is expected that the course will not take longer than a year at the most, and as soon as they have attained a certain standard of knowledge of Hindi they would be entrusted with the missionary work, that is, the work of teaching Hindi to the Tamil or the Telugu people as the case may be, for which they would get a salary to maintain themselves suitably. The Committee will guarantee such service for at least a period of three years, and will expect applicants to enter into a contract with the Committee to

render the stipulated service faithfully and well for that period. The Committe expects that the services of these youths will be indefinitely prolonged and that they will be able to serve themselves as well as the country.. The desire of the Committee is to offer liberal payment and expect in return absolute faithfulness and steadfastness. I trust that you agree with the Sammelan that Hindi and Hindi alone, whether in Sanskrit form or as Urdu, can become the language of intercourse between the different provinces. It is already that amongst the Muhammadans all over India, as also amongst the Hindus except in the Madras Presidency. I exclude the English educated Indians who have made English, in my humble opinion, much to the detriment of the country, the language of mutual intercourse. If we are to realise the Swaraj ideal we must find a common language that can be easily learnt and that can be understood by the vast masses. This has always been Hindi or Urdu and is so even now as I can say from personal experience. I have faith enough in the patriotism, selflessness and the sagacity of the people of the Madras Presidency to know that those who at all want to render national service or to come in touch with the other Provinces, will undergo the sacrifice, if it is one, of learning Hindi. I suggest that they should consider it a privilege to be able to learn a language that will enable them to enter into the hearts of millions of their countrymen. The proposal set forth is a temporary makeshift. An agitation of great potency must arise in the country that would compel the educational authorities to introduce Hindi as the second language in the public schools. But it was felt by the Sammelan that no time should be lost in popularising Hindi in the Madras Presidency. Hence the above-mentioned proposal which,

I hope, you will be able to commend to your readers. I may add that the Committee proposes to send Hindi teachers to the Tamil as also to the Andhra districts in order to teach Hindi free of charge to those who would care to learn it. I hope that many will take advantage of the proffered tuition. Those youths who wish to apply for the training above-mentioned should do so under cover addressed to me care of Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad,' before the end of April.

THE AHMEDABAD MILL HANDS

When the mill hands at Ahmedabad went on strike Mr. Gandhi was requisitioned to settle the dispute between the mill owners and the workmen. Mr. Gandhi was guiding the labourers to a successful settlement of their wages when some of them betrayed a sense of weakness and despair, and demoralisation was apprehended. At a critical stage in the crisis Mr. Gandhi and Miss Anasuyabai took the vow of fast. This extreme action on the part of Mr. Gandhi was disquieting to friends and provoked some bitter comments from the unfriendly. In the following statement issued from Nadiad under date, March 27, 1918, *Mr. Gandhi explains the circumstances which necessitated this action :—*

Perhaps I owe an explanation to the public with regard to my recent fast. Some friends consider the action to have been silly, others, cowardly and some others still worse. In my opinion I would have been untrue to my Maker and to the cause I was espousing if I had acted otherwise.

When over a month ago I reached Bombay I was told that Ahmedabad millhands had threatened a strike

and violence if the bonus that was given to them during the plague was withdrawn. I was asked to intervene and I consented.

Owing to the plague the men were getting as much as 70 per cent. bonus since August last. An attempt to recall that bonus had resulted in grave dissatisfaction among the labourers. When it was almost too late the millowners offered in the place of the plague bonus and for the sake of the high prices a rise of 20 per cent. The labourers were unsatisfied. The matter was referred to arbitration, Mr. Chatfield, the Collector being the Umpire. The men in some mills however struck work. The owners thinking that they had done so without just cause withdrew from the arbitration, and declared a general lockout to be continued till the labourers were exhausted into accepting 20 per cent. increase they had offered. Messrs. Shankerlal Banker, V. J. Patel and I, the arbitrators appointed on behalf of the labourers, thought that they were to be demoralised if we did not act promptly and decisively. We therefore investigated the question of increase, we sought the millowners' assistance. They would not give it. Their one purpose was to organise themselves into a combination that could fight a similar combination of their employees. One-sided technically though our investigation was, we endeavoured to examine the millowners' side, and came to the conclusion that 35 per cent increase was fair. Before announcing the figure to the millhands we informed the employers of the result of our inquiry and told them that we would correct ourselves if they could show any error. The latter would not co-operate. They sent a reply saying as much, but they pointed out in it that the rate of increase granted by the Government as also the employers

in Bombay was much less than the one contemplated by us. I felt that the addendum was beside the point, and at a huge meeting announced 35 per cent. for the millhands' acceptance. Be it noted that the plague bonus amounted to 70 per cent. of their wages and they had declared their intention of accepting not less than 50 per cent. as high prices increase. They were now called upon to accept the mean, finding the mean was quite an accident between the millowners' 20 per cent. and their own 50 per cent. After some grumbling the meeting accepted the 35 per cent. increase, it always being understood that they would recognise at the same time the principle of arbitration whenever the millowners did so. From that time forward, i.e., day after day thousands of people gathered together under the shade of a tree outside the city walls, people walking long distances in many cases and solemnly repeated their determination in the name of God not to accept anything less than 35 per cent. No pecuniary assistance was given them. It is easy enough to understand that many must suffer from the pangs of starvation and that they could not, while they were without employment, get any credit. We who were helping them, came, on the other hand to the conclusion that we would only spoil them if we collected public funds and utilised them for feeding them unless the able-bodied amongst them were ready to perform bread-labour. It was a difficult task to persuade men who had worked at machines to shoulder baskets of sand or bricks. They came but they did so grudgingly. The millowners hardened their hearts. They were equally determined not to go beyond 20 per cent. and they appointed emissaries to persuade the men to give in. Even during the early part of the lockout, whilst we had declined to help those who would not work we had

assured them that we would feed and clothe ourselves after feeding and clothing them. Twenty two days had passed by; hunger and the Millowners' emissaries were producing their effect and Satan was whispering to the men that there was no such thing as God on earth who would help them and that vows were dodges resorted to by weaklings. One morning instead of an eager and enthusiastic crowd of 5 to 10 thousand men with determination written on their faces, I met a body of about 2,000 men with despair written on their faces. We had just heard that millhands living in a particular chowl had declined to attend the meeting, were preparing to go to work and accept 20 per cent. increase and were taunting us (I think very properly) that it was very well for us who had motors at our disposal and plenty of food, to attend their meetings and advise staunchness even unto death. What was I to do? I held the cause to be just. I believe in God as I believe that I am writing this letter. I believe in the necessity of the performance of "one's promises" at all costs. I knew that the men before us were God-fearing men, but that the long-drawn out lockout or strike was putting an undue strain upon them. I had the knowledge before me that during my extensive travels in India hundreds of people were found who as readily broke their promises as they made them. I knew, too, that the best of us have but a vague and indistinct belief in soul-force and in God. I felt that it was a sacred moment for me, my faith was on the anvil, and I had no hesitation in rising and declaring to the men that a breach of their vow so solemnly taken was unendurable by me and that I would not take any food until they had the 35 per cent. increase given or until they had fallen. A meeting that was up to now unlike the former meetings totally unres-

ponsive, worked up as if by magic. Tears trickled down the cheeks of every one of them and man after man rose up saying that they would never go to the mills unless they got the increase, and that they would go about the city and steel the hearts of those who had not attended the meeting. It was a privilege to witness the demonstration of the efficacy of truth and love. Every one immediately realised that the protecting power of God was as much with us to-day as it used to be in the days of yore. I am not sorry for the vow, but with the belief that I have, I would have been unworthy of the truth undertaken by me if I had done anything less. Before I took the vow I knew that there were serious defects about it. For me to take such a vow in order to affect in any shape or form the decision of the millowners would be a cowardly injustice done to them, and that I would so prove myself unfit for the friendship which I had the privilege of enjoying with some of them. I knew that I ran the risk of being misunderstood. I could not prevent my fast from affecting my decision. Their knowledge moreover put a responsibility on me which I was ill able to bear. From now I disabled myself from gaining concessions for the men which ordinarily in a struggle such as this I would be entirely justified in securing. I knew, too, that I would have to be satisfied with the minimum I could get from the millowners and with a fulfilment of the letter of the men's vow rather than its spirit and so hath it happened. I put the defects of my vow in one scale and the merits of it in the other. There are hardly any acts of human beings which are free from all taint. Mine, I know, was exceptionally tainted, but the ignominy of having unworthily compromised by my vow the position and independence of the millowners, than that it should be said by

posterity that 10,000 men had suddenly broken a vow which they had for over twenty days solemnly taken and repeated in the name of God. I am fully convinced that no body of men can make themselves into a nation or perform great tasks unless they become as true as steel and unless their promises come to be regarded by the world like the law of the Medes and Persians, inflexible, and unbreakable, and whatever may be the verdict of friends, so far as I can think at present, on given occasions, I should not hesitate in future to repeat the humble performance which I have taken the liberty of describing in this communication.

I cannot conclude this letter without mentioning two names of whom India has every reason to be proud. The millowners were represented by Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai who is a gentleman in every sense of the term. He is a man of great culture and equally great abilities. He adds to these qualities a resolute will. The millhands were represented by his sister. Anasuyabai. She possesses a heart of gold. She is full of pity for the poor. The mill hands adore her. Her word is law with them. I have not known a struggle faught with so little bitterness and such courtesy on either side. This happy result is principally due to the connection with it of Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai and Anusuyabai..

A LETTER TO THE VICEROY

Mr. M. K. Gandhi addressed the following letter to H. E. the Viceroy soon after the Delhi War Conference :—

Sir, as you are aware, after careful consideration, I felt constrained to convey to Your Excellency that I could not attend the Conference for reasons stated in the letter of the 26th instant (April), but, after the interview you were good enough to grant me, I persuaded myself to join it, if for no other cause than certainly out of my great regard for yourself. One of my reasons for abstension, and perhaps the strongest, was that Lok. Tilak, Mrs. Besant and the Ali brothers, whom I regard as among the most powerful leaders of public opinion, were not invited to the Conference. I still feel that it was a grave blunder not to have asked them, and I respectfully suggest that that blunder might be possibly repaired if these leaders were invited to assist the Government by giving it the benefit of their advice at the Provincial Conferences, which, I understand, are to follow. I venture to submit that no Government can afford to disregard the leaders, who represent the large masses of the people as these do, even though they may hold views fundamentally different. At the same time it gives me pleasure to be able to say that the views of all parties were permitted to be freely expressed at the Committees of the Conference. For my part I purposely refrained from stating my views, either at the Committee at which I had the honour of serving, or at the Conference itself. I felt that I could best serve the objects of

the Conference by simply tendering my support to the resolutions submitted to it, and this I have done without any reservation. I hope to translate the spoken word into action as early as the Government can see its way to accept my offer, which I am submitting simultaneously herewith in a separate letter.

I recognise that in the hour of its danger we must give, as we have decided to give, ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire of which we aspire in the near future to be partners in the same sense as the Dominions Overseas. But it is the simple truth that our response is due to the expectation that our goal will be reached all the more speedily. On that account, even as performance of duty automatically confers a corresponding right, people are entitled to believe that the imminent reforms alluded to in your speech will embody the main general principles of the Congress-League scheme, and I am sure that it is this faith which has enabled many members of the Conference to tender to the Government their full-hearted co-operation. If I could make my countrymen retrace their steps, I would make them withdraw all the Congress resolutions and not whisper "Home Rule" or "Responsible Government" during the pendency of the War. I would make India offer all her able-bodied sons as a sacrifice to the Empire at its critical moment and I know that India, by this very act, would become the most favoured partner in the Empire and racial distinctions would become a thing of the past. But practically the whole of educated India has decided to take a less effective course, and it is no longer possible to say that educated India does not exercise any influence on the masses. I have been coming into most intimate touch with the raiyats ever since my return from South Africa

to India, and I wish to assure you that the desire for Home-Rule has widely penetrated them. I was present at the sessions of the last Congress, and I was a party to the resolution that full Responsible Government should be granted to British India within a period to be fixed definitely by a Parliamentary Statute. I admit that it is a bold step to take, but I feel sure that nothing less than a definite vision of Home-Rule to be realised in the shortest possible time will satisfy the Indian people. I know that there are many in India who consider no sacrifice is too great in order to achieve the end, and they are wakeful enough to realise that they must be equally prepared to sacrifice themselves for the Empire in which they hope and desire to reach their final status. It follows then that we can but accelerate our journey to the goal by silently and simply devoting ourselves heart and soul to the work of delivering the Empire from the threatening danger. It will be a national suicide not to recognise this elementary truth. We must perceive that, if we serve to save the Empire, we have in that very act secured Home-Rule.

Whilst, therefore, it is clear to me that we should give to the Empire every available man for its defence, I fear that I cannot say the same thing about the financial assistance. My intimate intercourse with the raiyats convinces me that India has already donated to the Imperial Exchequer beyond her capacity. I know that, in making this statement, I am voicing the opinion of the majority of my countrymen.

The Conference means for me, and I believe for many of us, a definite step in the consecration of our lives to the common cause, but ours is a peculiar position. We are

to day outside the partnership. Ours is a consecration based on hope of better future. I should be untrue to you and to my country if I did not clearly and unequivocally tell you what that hope is. I do not bargain for its fulfilment, but you should know that disappointment of hope means disillusion. There is one thing I may not omit. You have appealed to us to sink domestic differences. If appeal involves the toleration of tyranny and wrong-doings on the part of officials, I am powerless to respond. I shall resist organised tyranny to the uttermost. The appeal must be to the officials that they do not ill-treat a single soul, and that they consult and respect popular opinion as never before. In Champaran by resisting an age-long tyranny, I have shown the ultimate sovereignty of British justice. In Kaira a population that was cursing the Government now feels that it, and not the Government, is the power when it is prepared to suffer for the truth it represents. It is, therefore, losing its bitterness and is saying to itself that the Government must be a Government for people, for it tolerates orderly and respectful disobedience where injustice is felt. Thus Champaran and Kaira affairs are my direct, definite and special contribution to the War. Ask me to suspend my activities in that direction and you ask me to suspend my life. If I could popularise the use of soul-force, which is but another name for love-force in place of brute force, I know that I could present you with an India that could defy the whole world to do its worst. In season and out of season, therefore, I shall discipline myself to express in my life this eternal law of suffering, and present it for acceptance to those who care, and if I take part in any other activity, the motive is to show the matchless superiority of that law.

Lastly, I would like you to ask His Majesty's Ministers to give definite assurance about Muhammadan States. I am sure you know that every Muhammadan is deeply interested in them. As a Hindu I cannot be indifferent to their cause. Their sorrows must be our sorrows. In the most scrupulous regard for the rights of these States and for the Muslim sentiment as to the places of worship and in your just and timely treatment of Indian claim to Home Rule has the safety of the Empire. I write this, because I love the English Nation and I wish to evoke in every Indian the loyalty of Englishman.

LORD WILLINGDON AND HOME RULERS

The following speech was delivered by Mr. Gandhi as President of the Protest Meeting at Bombay on June 16, 1918. *This meeting was organised by the leading public men of Bombay to protest against H. E. Lord Willingdon's conduct in the chair at the War Conference of the 10th instant.*

It was not without very considerable hesitation that I accepted the invitation to preside over the deliberations of this great and important meeting. We have met in order to respectfully protest against his Excellency Lord Willingdon's conduct in the chair at the War Conference that met in the Town Hall on the 10th instant. I entertain high regard for Lord Willingdon. Of all the Governors in India probably Lord Willingdon is the most popular. He is known to hold liberal views regarding our aspirations. It is, therefore, difficult for me to contemplate the proceedings of this meeting without sorrow, but I feel that I may not allow personal regard to interfere with the performance of an obvious duty, no matter how painful it

may be. The duty is plain. Lord Willingdon convened the Conference, deliberately invited the prominent and leading members of the Home Rule Leagues. They, not wishing to court insult on the one hand and on the other desiring to give ample previous notice to H.E. of their intention to plead their views before the Conference, asked for information about the programme of the Conference. Lord Willingdon had before him the experience of the Delhi Conference. He knew that the Home Rule League members had the first scope given them for discussion during the sitting of the Committees that were then formed. He knew that many members of that Conference had delivered political speeches at its first sitting. With all this knowledge in his possession now mark what happened at the Conference. In his opening remarks he delivered a deliberate attack upon Home Rule Leagues. He accused them of constant obstruction. He was not sure of the sincerity of their support. The Conference platform was hardly the platform for such remarks. If he did not want their co-operation he ought not to have invited the members of the Home Rule Leagues. If he desired their co-operation it was hardly the way to tell them beforehand that he did not trust them. He ought to have remembered that Home Rule Leagues gave material assistance in one way. Their organ, the "Chronicle" has always urged upon the people to give all the help they can. I venture to suggest to His Excellency that his aspersion upon the Leagues was at the very least a tactical blunder. But this was not enough. He wrote in reply to Mr. Kelkar's inquiry as follows:—

"A certain number of speakers will be invited beforehand to move, second and support the resolutions to be laid before the Conference. After these speakers have concluded their remarks, an open discussion will follow.

"The resolutions laid before the Conference will be framed to give effect to the resolutions of the Delhi Conference and will be two in number, the first in general terms and the second making specific proposals. Formal amendments will not be admitted, but any criticisms or suggestions which speakers may make in the course of discussion will receive careful consideration of Government."

There is no reservation here about political discussion. Mr. Tilak and Mr. Kelkar together with others sent in their names as speakers. In due course Mr. Tilak rose to speak and hardly had he uttered three sentences two of which consisted of an absolute declaration of loyalty, he was stopped on the ground that he was speaking politics on the loyalty resolution. In vain did Mr. Tilak protest that the loyalty resolution had an addendum to it which entitled him to offer relevent criticism. Mr. Kelkar followed and he shared the same fate with the result that there was immediately a dramatic withdrawal from the Town Hall led by Mr. Tilak. In my humble opinion H.E. in giving the ruling that he did, committed a grave blunder and did a disservice to the cause which he had come to espouse. He offered a gratuitous insult to Messrs. Tilak and Kelkar and thereby to a great and powerful organisation in the country. It is impossible to ignore or insult Mr. Tilak and his followers. Mr. Tilak is an idol of the people. He wields over thousands of men an unrivalled influence, his word is law to them. I have great differences of opinion with him, but I would be untrue to myself if I failed to acknowledge that his burning love of his country, his immense sacrifices and his resolute advocacy of the popular cause have earned for him a place in the politics of India which no other leader has. The insult offered to him and through him to the Home Rule Leagues is therefore an insult to the nation at large. Whether therefore we differ from him in politics or not

it is the duty of us all who feel that Lord Willingdon's treatment of Messrs. Tilak and Kelkar was wrong, to protest against it. I am prepared to admit that it would have been better if Mr. Tilak had risen to speak to the said resolution. It is my special and personal opinion not shared perhaps by anybody else that it would have been better still if he had preserved dignified silence; but in my opinion he had a right to speak on the loyalty resolution and offer criticism. I must dissent from the view that a loyalty resolution debars a free expression of one's sentiments. That loyalty must indeed be skin deep which requires a wall of protection against criticism. I hold it to be perfectly consistent with my loyalty to the King to tell him that things are done in his name which ought not to be done. My declaration of loyalty will sound all the truer for the warning and I think that among the many services rendered by the Home Rule Leagues, special mention deserves to be made of their having emboldened the people to speak out their minds; and I doubt not that if they but do their duty to the fullest extent they would place India's loyalty above suspicion. For, with a true Home Ruler it must be an article of faith that the Empire must be saved for in its safety lies the fruition of his fondest hopes. Not to help the Empire is to commit national suicide. How can we wish harm to our would-be-partner without hurting ourselves. So, whilst I fully share the opinion of the members of the Home Rule League that we must protect national honour by asking for an expression of regret for H. E's *fauxpas*, we must at the same time redouble our efforts to help the authorities in the prosecution of the war. We must not be angered by Lord Willingdon's mistake into taking a single false step ourselves. We have too much at stake; we want Home Rule and we

want it in the quickest time possible, and I wish I could still persuade the country to accept my view that absolutely unconditional and whole-hearted co-operation with the Government on the part of educated India will bring us within sight of our goal as nothing else will. I do not for a single minute share the distrust of my countrymen that like so many other hopes of ours this one of Swaraj is also doomed to disappointment. Not that the Government here as also the Imperial Government have done nothing to shake our trust; only my trust rests not in their change of policy but it rests upon the solid foundation of our own struggle. Surely it must be easy for any one to see that if we succeed in controlling the development of man power and resources we will have attained to an irresistible position and power; for in my humble plan for the attainment of Home Rule I aspire to nothing less than a complete control over these two departments. The Government seek our co-operation herein, let us take them at their word. They cannot reject help willingly and honestly offered. Our supplying recruits means in spirit though not in law yet a national army instead of a hired army. I have never been able to claim for ourselves any credit for the thousands who have been recruited by the official department. These recruits have gone not as patriots, not for the sake of the country, not for the Empire, but for the money and other inducements held out to them. Recruits whom we would raise would be Home Rulers. They would go to fight for the Empire; but they would so fight because they aspire to become partners in it. They would not consider it with Sir Narayan a humiliation to fight for their hearths and their homes; but they would consider it a perfectly honourable

ambition to gain freedom for their country by fighting for the Empire.

I hope that H. E. will see his way to concede to the wishes of this great meeting; but if he fails to-day, if the Viceroy also fails, I, for one, shall not despair of H. E. voluntarily apologising to the Home Rule Leagues in the near future. For I know they mean to co-operate in the prosecution of the war. And when he sees this, he will realise his mistake and like a gentleman that he is, will offer apology. Difficulties there are, many of the Government's creation. Thus indifference to popular opinion, their rejection of our advice tendered for the attainment of the common end, namely gaining of recruits, have made our task well nigh impossible of fulfilment, but our duty is clear. Undaunted by these and many other difficulties we should press forward and bear down their indifference to opinion by demonstrating in practice the harm that they do to the Empire by their persistent defiance of popular will. I therefore regard the second resolution that will be placed before you not in any sense as so many conditions of our co-operation, but as a statement of the difficulties lying in our path. There are only two ways whereby we can attain our goal, co-operation or obstruction. Under the British constitution obstruction is a perfectly legitimate and well-known method for securing right; but obstruction at a crisis like the one facing the Empire can only end in enraging the Government who are responsible for the conduct of the war; whereas co-operation will not only disarm their opposition but it will give us a strength and a confidence, which cannot but take us to our goal. The occasion for which we have met is an unique one; we are asking a popular Governor to put himself

right with us by repenting of his mistakes; we are also providing that if we fail to get redress we pledge ourselves not to attend any public meeting over whose deliberations Lord Willingdon may preside in future. This is a serious step, but I think warranted by events that have taken place. The justice of our step will be proved by our future conduct, i. e., by disproving H. E's charges by a determined effort at co-operation.

I observe that to-day is the Home Rule Day anniversary. It is or ought to be a solemn day for Home Rule Leaguers. Lord Willingdon has presented them with the expression Home Rule Leaguers distinguished from Home Rulers. I cannot conceive the existence of an Indian who is not a Home Ruler; but there are millions like myself who are not Home Rule Leaguers. Although I am not a member of any Home Rule League I wish to pay on this auspicious day my humble tribute to numerous Home Rule Leaguers whose association I have ever sought in my work and which has been extended to me ungrudgingly. I have found many of them to be capable of any sacrifice for the sake of the Motherland. Some of them, I have noticed, are extremely capable young men; for I am not thinking in offering my tribute, of the front rank leaders of the movement; I am simply thinking of the rank and file with whom it has been my privilege to work. I wish to testify to their loyalty to the British constitution and the British connection, and also testify to their impatience of bureaucratic control. They show in an eminent degree all the virtues and vices of youth. Their language is sometimes strong, sometimes even wild, not parliamentary. They betray excessive zeal. Men of age and experience, we often may find occasions to stand aghast at some of their action; but their hearts are strong

and pure. They have succeeded to a certain extent in clearing the atmosphere of cant and humbug. Their truth has sometimes hurt, but I must say that although when the Leagues were first established I looked upon them with scepticism and even doubted their usefulness, a careful examination of their work has convinced me that the Leagues have supplied a long felt-want, they have put life into the people. They have filled them with hope and courage : and had the authorities not misunderstood them, I am certain they could have availed themselves of this inexhaustive reservoir of manpower. They need not be told that the members of the League realize their own resonsibility, and come forward with it. It was hardly to be expected of high-souled youths who had all alone chaffed under bureaucratic domination.

It was the duty of the authorities who being more experienced should have known better to have made the Home Rule Leaguers their own. Whosesoever the error may be let the Home Rule Leaguers, having now realised it, correct it. Let them not lose faith in even the bureaucrats. Want of faith is a betrayal of weakness. Bureaucracy is bad, it is doomed, but all bureaucrats are not bad. Our triumph will be in reforming the bureaucrats. If we need not say "jo hokum" and fall down at their feet, we may not shame them or insult them. Let us meet the tricks of the bureaucracy with the greatest frankness and honesty. That we should return good for evil was not said of angels but of men. The manliest course is never to deviate by a hair's breadth from the straight and narrow path ; and Home Rule Leaguers are nothing if they cannot be manly. During the coming year of probation, let the Home Rule Leaguers discharge themselves as efficiently, in the work of construction as they have in the work of destruction and they will make this a day for universal celebration throughout the length and breadth of India.

RECRUITING FOR THE WAR

The following is the translation of Mr. M. K. Gandhi's address, delivered at a meeting in the District of Kaira in July 1918.

Sisters and Brothers of Kaira :—You have just come successful out of a glorious Satyagraha campaign. You have, during it, given such evidence of fearlessness, tact and other virtues that I venture to advise and urge you to undertake a still greater campaign.

You have successfully demonstrated how you can resist Government with civility, and how you can retain your own respect without hurting theirs. I now place before you an opportunity of proving that you bear no hostility to Government in spite of your strenuous fight with them.

You are all Home Rulers, some of you are members of Home Rule Leagues. One *meaning of Home rule* is that we should become *partners of the Empire*. To-day we are a subject people. We do not enjoy all the rights of Englishmen. We are not to-day partners of the Empire as are Canada, South Africa and Australia. We are a dependency. We want the rights of Englishmen, and we aspire to be as much partners of the Empire as the Dominions overseas. We wish for the time when we may aspire to the Viceregal office. To bring such a state of things we should have the ability to defend ourselves, that is the ability to bear arms and to use them. As long as we have to look to the Englishmen for our defence, as

long as we are not free from the fear of the military, so long we cannot be regarded as equal partners with Englishmen. It, therefore, behoves us to learn the use of arms and to acquire the ability to defend ourselves. *If we want to learn the use of arms with the greatest possible despatch, it is our duty to enlist ourselves in the Army.*

There can be no friendship between the brave and the effeminate. We are regarded as a cowardly people. If we want to become free from that reproach, we should learn the use of arms.

Partnership in the Empire is our definite goal. We should suffer to the utmost of our ability and even lay down our lives to defend the Empire. If the Empire perishes, with it perish our cherished aspirations.

WAYS AND MEANS OF SWARAJ.

The easiest and the straightest way, therefore, to win Swarajya is to participate in the defence of the Empire. It is not within our power to give much money. Moreover, it is not money that will win the war. Only an inexhaustible army can do it. That army India can supply. If the Empire wins mainly with the help of our army, it is obvious that we would secure the rights we want.

Some will say that if we do not secure those rights just now, we would be cheated of them afterwards. The power acquired in defending the Empire will be the power that can secure those rights. Rights won by making an opportunity of the Empire's weakness are likely to be lost when the Empire gains its strength. We cannot be partners of the Empire embarrassing it. Embarrassment in its hour of crisis will not avail to secure the rights we needs must win by serving it. To distrust the statesman of the Empire is to distrust our own strength, it is a sign of our own weakness. We should not depend

for our rights on the goodness or the weakness of the statesmen. We should depend on our fitness, our strength. The Native States are helping the Empire and they are getting their reward. The rich are rendering full financial assistance to Government and they are likewise getting their reward. The assistance in either case is rendered conditionally. The sepoys are rendering their services for their salt and for their livelihood. They get their livelihood, and prizes and honours in addition. All these classes are a part of us, but they cannot be regarded as Home rulers, their goal is not Home Rule. The help they render is not consecrated to the country.

If we seek to win Swarajya in a spirit of hostility, it is possible for the Imperial statesmen to use these three forces against us and defeat us. If we want Swarajya, it is our duty to help the Empire and we shall undoubtedly get the reward of their help. If our motive is honest Government will behave honestly with us. Assuming for a moment that they will not do so, our honesty should make us confident of our success. It is no mark of greatness to return goodness for goodness. Greatness lies in returning good for evil.

VALID OBJECTIONS.

Government do not give us commissions in the Army ; they do not repeal the Arms Act ; they do not open schools for military training. How can we then co-operate with them ? These are valid objections. In not granting reforms in these matters, Government are making a serious blunder. The English nation has performed several acts of virtue. For these God's grace be with it. But the heinous sin perpetrated by the English administrators in the name of that nation will undo the effect of

these acts of virtue, if they do not take care betimes. If the worst happens to India, which may God forbid, and she passes into the hands of some other nation, India's piteous cry will make England hang her head in shame before the world, and curses will descend upon her for having emasculated a nation of thirty crores. I believe the statesmen of England have realised this, and they have taken the warning ; but they are unable to alter all of a sudden the situation created by themselves. Every Englishman upon entering India is trained to despise us, to regard himself as our superior and to maintain a spirit of isolation from us. They imbibe these characteristics from their Indian atmosphere. The finer spirits try to get themselves rid of this atmosphere and endeavour to do likewise with the rank and file, but their effort does not bear immediate fruit. If there were no crisis for the Empire, we should be fighting against this domineering spirit. But to sit still at this crisis, waiting for commissions, etc., is like cutting the nose to spite the face. It may happen perchance that we may idle away our time waiting for commissions till the opportunity to help the Empire may be gone.

Even if Government desire to obstruct us in enlisting in the army and rendering other help, by refusing us commissions, or by delay in giving them, it is my firm belief that it is incumbent upon us to insist upon joining the army.

THE NEED FOR MEN.

Government at present want five lakhs of men for the army. This number they are sure to raise some way or the other. If we supply this number, we would cover ourselves with glory, we would be rendering true service and the reports that we often hear of improper recruit-

ment will be a thing of the past. It is no small thing to have the whole work of recruiting in our hands. If the Government have no trust in us, if their intentions are not pure, they would not raise recruits through our agency.

The foregoing argument will show that by enlisting in the army we help the Empire, we qualify ourselves for Swarajya, we learn to defend India and to a certain extent regain our lost manhood. I admit it is because of my faith in the English nation that I can advise as I am doing. I believe that, though this nation has done India much harm, to retain connection with that nation is to our advantage. Their virtues seem to me to outweigh their vices. It is miserable to remain in subjection to that nation. The Englishmen have the great vice of depriving a subject nation of its self respect, but they have also the virtue of treating their equals with due respect and of loyalty towards them. We have seen that they have many times helped those groaning under the tyranny of others. In partnership with them we have to give and receive a great many things to and from each other and our connection with them based on that relationship is likely to benefit the world. If such was not my faith and if I thought it desirable to become absolutely independent of that nation, I would not only not advise co-operation but would certainly advise people to rebel and by paying the penalty of the rebellion, awaken the people. We are not in a position to-day to stand on our own legs unaided and alone. I believe that our good lies in becoming and remaining equal partners of the Empire and I have seen it throughout India that all Home Rulers are of the same belief.

APPEAL TO KAIRA AND GUJARAT.

I expect from Kaira and Gujarat not 500 or 700 recruits but thousands. If Gujarat wants to wipe herself free of the reproach of "effeminate Gujarat", she should be prepared to contribute thousands of sepoys. These must include the educated classes, the Pattidars, the Dharalas, Vaghris and all, and I hope they will fight side by side as comrades. Unless the educated classes or the 'elite' of the community take the lead, it is idle to expect the other classes to come forward. I believe that those from the educated classes who are above the prescribed age, but who are able-bodied, may enlist themselves. Their services will be utilised, if not for actual fighting, for many other purposes accessory thereto, and for treating and nursing the sepoys. I hope also that those who have grown-up sons will not hesitate to send them as recruits. To sacrifice sons in the war ought to be a cause not of pain, but of pleasure to brave men. Sacrifice of sons at the crisis will be sacrifice for Swarajya.

To you, my sisters, I request that you will not be startled by this appeal, but will accord it a hearty welcome. It contains the key to your protection and your honour.

There are 600 villages in the Kaira District. Every village has on an average a population of over 1,000. If every village gave at least twenty men the Kaira District would be able to raise an army of 12,000 men. The population of the whole district is seven lakhs and this number will then work out at 17 per cent.—a rate which is lower than the death-rate. If we are not prepared to make even this sacrifice for the Empire and Swarajya, it is no wonder if we are regarded as unworthy of it. If every village gives at least twenty men they will return from the war and be the living bulwarks of their village. If they fall

on the battle-field, they will immortalise themselves, their villages and their country, and twenty fresh men will follow suit and offer themselves for national defence.

If we mean to do this, we have no time to lose. I wish the names of the fittest and the strongest in every village will be selected and sent up. I ask this of you, brothers and sisters. To explain things to you, and to clear the many questions that will arise, meetings will be held in important villages. Volunteers will also be sent out.

THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD SCHEME

On the publication of the "Report on constitutional Reforms" by the Rt. Hon. Mr. E. S. Montagu and H. E. Lord Chelmsford, Mr. Gandhi wrote the following letter (dated, July 18, 1918) *to the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, who had invited him to give an expression of his views on the subject for publication in the "Servant of India." Mr. Gandhi wrote :—*

After all, our standard of measurement must be the Congress-League scheme. Crude though it is, I think that we should with all the vehemence and skill that we can command press for the incorporation into it of the essentials of our own.

DOCTRINE OF COMPARTMENTS.

I would, therefore, for instance, ask for the rejection of the doctrine of compartments. I very much fear that the dual system in the Provinces will be fatal to the success of the experiment and as it may be only the success of the experiment that can take us to the next and I ope the final stage, we cannot be too insistent that the

idea of reservation should be dropped. One cannot help noticing an unfortunate suspicion of our intentions regarding the purely British as distinguished from the purely Indian interests. Hence, there is to be seen in the scheme elaborate reservations on behalf of these interests. I think that more than anything else it is necessary to have an honest, frank and straightforward understanding about these interests and for me personally this is of much greater importance than any legislative feat that British talent alone or a combination of British and Indian talent may be capable of performing. I would certainly, in as courteous terms as possible, but equally emphatic, say that these interests will be held subservient to those of India as a whole and that therefore they are certainly in jeopardy in so far as they may be inconsistent with the general advance of India. Thus, if I had my way, I would cut down the military expenditure. I would protect local industries by heavily taxing goods that compete against products of our industries and I would reduce to a minimum the British element in our services, retaining only those that may be needed for our instruction and guidance. I do not think that they had or have any claim upon our attention, save by right of conquest. That claim must clearly go by the board as soon as we have awakened to a consciousness of our national existence and possess the strength to vindicate our right to the restoration of what we have lost. To their credit let it be said that they do not themselves advance any claim by right of conquest. One can readily join in the tribute of praise bestowed upon the Indian Civil Service for their proficiency, devotion to duty and great organising ability. So far as material reward is concerned that service has been more than handsomely paid and our gratitude

otherwise can be best expressed by assimilating their virtues ourselves.

PRESENT TOP-HEAVY ADMINISTRATION.

No scheme of reform can possibly benefit India that does not recognise that the present administration is top-heavy and ruinously expensive and for me even law, order and good government would be too dearly purchased if the price to be paid for it is to be the grinding poverty of the masses. The watchword of our reform councils will have to be not the increase of taxation for the growing needs of a growing country, but a decrease of financial burdens that are sapping the foundation itself of organic growth. If this fundamental fact is recognised there need be no suspicion of our motives and I think I am perfectly safe in asserting that in every other respect British interests will be as secure in Indian hands as they are in their own.

INDIANS IN CIVIL SERVICE.

It follows from what I have said above that we must respectfully press for the Congress-League claim for the immediate granting to Indians of 50 per cent. of the higher posts in the Civil Service.

APPENDIX.—I.

THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF SATYAGRAHASRAMA*

OBJECT.

The object of this home is to learn how to serve the motherland and to serve it.

DIVISIONS.

This home is divided into three classes ;—Managers, Candidates and Students.

(1) MANAGERS.

Managers believe that in order to learn how to serve the country, the following observances should be enforced in their own lives, and they have been doing so for some time.

1. THE VOW OF TRUTH

It is not enough that one ordinarily does not resort to untruth ; one ought to know that no deception may be practised even for the good of the country, that Truth may require opposition to one's parents and elders. Consider the example of Prahlad.

2. THE VOW OF AHIMSA (NON-KILLING.)

It is not enough not to take the life of any living being. The follower of this Vow may not hurt even those whom he believes to be unjust ; he may not be angry with them, he must love them : thus he would oppose the tyrany whether of parents, governments or others, but will never hurt the tyrant. The follower of Truth and Ahimsa will conquer the tyrant by love, he will not carry out the tyrant's will but he will suffer punishment even unto death for disobeying his will until the tyrant himself is conquered.

3. THE VOW OF CELIBACY.

It is well nigh impossible to observe the foregoing two vows unless celibacy is also observed ; for this vow it is not enough that one does not look upon another woman with a lustful eye, he has so to control his animal passions that they will not be moved even in thought : if he is married he will not have a carnal mind regarding his wife, but considering her as his life-long friend, will establish with her the relationship of perfect purity.

4. CONTROL OF THE PALATE.

Until one has overcome the pleasures of the palate it is difficult to observe the foregoing Vows, more especially that of celibacy. Control of the Palate is therefore treated as a separate observance. One desirous of serving the country will believe that eating is necessary only for sustaining the body, he will, therefore, daily regulate and purify his diet and will either gradually or immediately in accordance with his ability leave off such foods as may tend to stimulate animal passions or are otherwise unnecessary.

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* A translation of the Gujarati draft constitution.

5. THE VOW OF NON-STEALING.

It is not enough not to steal what is commonly considered as other men's property. It is theft if we use articles which we do not really need. Nature provides from day to day just enough and no more for our daily needs.

6. THE VOW OF NON-POSSESSION.

It is not enough not to possess and keep much, but it is necessary not to keep anything which may not be absolutely necessary for our bodily wants: thus if one can do without chairs, one should do so. The follower of this vow will, therefore, by constantly thinking thereover, simplify his life.

SUBSIDIARY OBSERVANCES.

Two observances are reduced from the foregoing.

1. SWADESHI.

It is inconsistent with Truth to use articles about which or about whose makers there is a possibility of deception. Therefore, for instance, a votary of Truth will not use articles manufactured in the mills of Manchester, Germany or India, for he does not know that there is no deception about them. Moreover labourers suffer much in the mills. Use of fire in the mills causes enormous destruction of life besides killing labourers before their time. Foreign goods and goods made by means of complicated machinary are, therefore, tabooed to a votary of Ahimsa. Further reflection will show that use of such goods will involve a breach of the vows of non-stealing and non-possession. We wear foreign goods, in preference to simple goods made in our own handlooms because custom attributes greater beauty to them. Artificial beautifying of the body is a hindrance to a Brahamachari, he will, therefore, avoid the use of any but the simplest goods. Therefore the vow of Swadeshi requires the use of simple and simply made clothing to the exclusion of even buttons, foreign cuts, etc., and so will Swadeshi be applied to every department of life.

2. FEARLESSNESS.

He who is acted upon by fear can hardly follow Truth or Ahimsa. Managers will, therefore, endeavour to be free from the fear of kings, people, caste, families, thieves, robbers, ferocious animals such as tigers and even death. A truly fearless man will defend himself against others by truth-force or soul-force.

VERNACULARS.

It is the belief of the managers that no nation can make real progress by abandoning its own languages; they will, therefore, train themselves through the medium of their respective vernaculars and as they desire to be on terms of intimacy with their brethren from all parts of India, they will learn the chief Indian languages, and as Sanskrit is the key to all the Indian languages, they will learn that also.

HAND LABOUR.

Managers believe that body labour is a duty imposed by nature upon mankind. We may, therefore, resort to bodily labour alone for our sustenance and use our mental and spiritual powers for the common good only and as the largest percentage in the world lives upon agriculture, managers will devote some part of their time to working on the land: and when such is not possible perform some other bodily labour.

HAND LOOMS.

Managers believe that one of the chief causes of poverty in the land is the virtual disappearance of cotton-spinning wheels and hand-looms. They will, therefore, make a great effort to revive this industry by working upon hand-looms themselves.

POLITICS.

Politics, economic progress, etc., are not considered to be independent branches of learning but that they are all rooted in religion. An effort will, therefore, be made to learn Politics, Economics, Social Reform, etc., in a religious spirit, and work in connection with these matters will be taken up by the managers with energy and devotion.

(2) CANDIDATES.

Those who are desirous of following out the foregoing programme but are not able immediately to take the necessary vows may be admitted as condidates. It is obligatory upon them to conform to the observances referred to above, though they do not take the vows, whilst they are in the Ashram and they will occupy the status of managers when they are able to take the necessary vows.

(3) STUDENTS.

1. Any children whether boys or girls from four years and upwards may be admitted.

2. Parents will have to surrender all control over their children.

3. Children may not be permitted to visit their parents until the whole course of study is finished.

4. Students will be taught to observe all the vows observable by the managers.

5. They will be taught principles of religion, agriculture, hand-loom weaving and literature.

6. Literary knowledge will be imparted through the respective vernaculars of the students and will include History, Geography, Mathematics, Economics, etc., learning of Sanskrit, Hindi and at least one Dravidian Vernacular is obligatory.

7. English will be taught as a second language.

8. They will be taught Urdu, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, and Devanagiri characters.

9. Managers believe that the whole course will be completed in ten years. Upon reaching the age of majority students

will be given the option of taking the vows referred to in section 1 or retire from the Ashram, if its programme has not commanded itself to them.

10. This option they will exercise when no longer they will require the assistance of their parents or other guardians,

11. Every endeavour will be made to teach the students from the very beginning not to have the fear, " what shall I do for my maintenance if and when I become an independent man".

12. Grown up persons also may be admitted as students.

13. As a rule the simplest and the same style of clothing will be worn by all.

14. Food will be simple. Chillies will be excluded altogether and no condiments will be used generally except salt, pepper and turmeric. Milk and its products being a hindrance to a celebate life and milk being often a cause of tuberculosis, and having the same stimulating qualities as meat will be most sparingly used if at all. Food will be served thrice. In it dried and fresh fruits will be liberally used. All in the Ashram will be taught principles of Hygiene.

15. There will be no vacation in this Ashram and no holidays as a rule, but during 1½ days per week the ordinary routine will be altered and students will have leisure to attend to their private personal work.

16. During 3 months in the year those whose health permits will be enabled to travel mostly on foot in the different parts of India.

17. No fees will be charged either against students or candidates but parents or members themselves will be expected to contribute as much as they can towards the expenses of the Ashram.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The management will be controlled solely by the managers. The chief manager will control all admissions. The expenses of conducting the Ashram are being met from moneys already received by the chief manager and being received from friends who are more or less believers in this Ashram. The Ashram is situated in 2 houses on the banks of the Sabarmati, Ahmedabad. It is expected that in a few months about 100 acres of ground will be acquired for locating the Ashram thereon.

NOTICE.

Visitors are requested during their stay at the Ashram to observe as nearly as possible the rules of the Ashram. Every endeavour will be made to make them comfortable; but they will confer upon the management a favour if they will bring with them their bedding and eating utensils. Those parents who intend sending their children to the Ashram are advised to visit the Ashram. No children will be admitted without being thoroughly examined as to their mental and moral condition.

APPENDIX.—II.

THE MEMORIAL TO MR. MONTAGU

The Gujarat Sabha of Ahmedabad under the direction of Mr. M.K. Gandhi devised an excellent idea of presenting a monster petition to the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, and H. E the Viceroy in 1917, *supporting the Congress League Scheme of Self-Government for India. The idea was taken up by the leading political organizations in India. The following is the English translation of the Gujarati petition :—*

To the Rt. Hon. Mr. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India.

The petition of the British Subjects of Gujarat humbly sheweth,—

(1) The petitioners have considered and understood the Swaraj Scheme prepared by the Council of the All-India Moslem League and the All-India Congress Committee and unanimously adopted last year by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League.

(2) The petitioners approve of the scheme.

(3) In the humble opinion of the petitioners, the reforms proposed in the aforementioned scheme are absolutely necessary in the interests of India and the Empire.

(4) It is further the Petitioners' belief that without such reforms India will not witness the era of true contentment.

For these reasons the Petitioners respectfully pray that you will be pleased to give full consideration to and accept the reform proposals and thus render successful your visit taken at great inconvenience and fulfil the national hope.

And for this act of kindness, the Petitioners shall, for ever, remain grateful.

RULES FOR VOLUNTEERS.

Mr. Gandhi also devised the following rules for the Volunteers to obtain signatures.

1. In taking signatures to the petition, first it must be ascertained whether the person signing correctly understands the scheme described in the petition or not.

2. In order to make people understand the scheme, it should be read out to the inhabitants of the place, called together by a notification prepared by the Sabha. If in such reading, the people raise any new question, which cannot be answered out of the Foreword, then the Volunteer should not decide the point himself, but should refer it to the Chief of his own Circle; and the questioner should not be allowed to sign so long as he has not been satisfied.

3. It should be clearly kept in mind that no kind of pressure is to be used on any inhabitant of any place.

4. Care should be taken that Government servants, as also people who are unable to understand, do not sign by oversight.

5. Signatures should not be taken from young people, who appear to be under the age of eighteen.

6. Signatures should not be taken from school-going students whatever their age may be.

7. There is no objection in taking signatures from any man or woman if the Volunteer is convinced that he or she can understand the matter.

8 A man or woman who is unable to read or write, should be made to put his or her cross and an authentication of it by a well-known person of the place should be placed opposite the cross.

9. It should be kept in mind that each signature is to be taken on two forms.

10. The papers should be preserved without being soiled or crumbled.

11. The papers which are not signed should at once be sent to the Head Office: and a report should at once be sent to the Head Office from the place where a meeting has been held or some attempt made.

12 The Volunteer has no authority to make any speech on any subject outside the scope of petition or on any subject relating to but not included in the Foreword.

13. First the inhabitants of a place should be called together and the Foreword read out to them and their signatures taken. After that as many houses as can be practicable should be visited and the signatures of the rest of the men and women taken. But these should be taken only after the Foreword has been explained.

14. If while visiting places or calling together people, the police or any other officials object, the Volunteer should politely reply that so long as the Head Office does not direct the cessation of work he would have to continue his work! If in doing this, he is arrested by the police, he should allow himself to be arrested, but he should not resist the police. And if such a thing happens, he should at once send a detailed report to the Head Office. If people themselves hesitate to gather together through the fear of the police or for any other cause, the Volunteer should give up that place and should at once give information of such an occurrence to the Head Office.

APPENDIX.—III.

APPRECIATIONS OF MR. GANDHI

Count Leo Tolstoy

God help our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal! That same struggle of the tender against the harsh of meekness and love against pride and violence, is every year making itself more and more felt here among us also, especially in one of the very sharpest of the conflicts of the religious law with the worldly laws, in refusals of Military Service. Such refusals are becoming ever more and more frequent. I greet youfraternally, and am glad to have intercourse with you."

* * *

Your activity in the Transvaal, as it seems to us, at the end of the world, is the most essential work. the most important of all the work now being done in the world, and in which not only the nations of the Christian, but of all the world, will unavoidably take part. *(Letter to Mr. Gandhi)*

Prof. Gilbert Murray

Let me take a present day instance of this battle between a soul and a Government, a very curious instance, because it is almost impossible without more knowledge than most people in England possess to say who was wrong and who right.

About the year 1889 a young Indian student, called Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, came to England to study law. He was rich and clever, of a cultivated family, gentle and modest in his manner. He dressed and behaved like other people. There was nothing particular about him to show that he had already taken a Jain vow to abstain from wine, from flesh, and from sexual intercourse. He took his degree and became a successful lawyer in Bombay, but he cared more for religion than law. Gradually his asceticism increased. He gave away all his money to good causes except the meagrest allowance. He took vows of poverty. He ceased to practise at the law because his religion—a mysticism which seems to be as closely related to Christianity as it is to any traditional Indian religion—forbade him to take part in a system which tried to do right by violence. When I met him in England in 1914, he ate, I believe, only rice, and drank only water, and slept on the floor; and his wife who seemed to be his companion in everything lived in the same way. His conversation was that of a cultivated and well-read man with a certain indefinable suggestion of saintliness. His patriotism, which is combined with an enthusiastic support of England against Germany is interwoven with his religion, and aims at the moral regeneration of India on the lines of Indian thought, with no barriers between one Indian and another, to the exclusion as far as possible of the influence of the West

with its industrial slavery, its material civilisation, its money-worship, and its wars. (I am merely stating this view, of course, not either criticising it or suggesting that it is right.)

Oriental peoples, perhaps owing to causes connected with their form of civilisation, are apt to be enormously influenced by great saintliness of character when they see it. Like all great masses of ignorant people, however, they need some very plain and simple test to assure them that their hero is really a saint and not a humbug, and the test they habitually apply is that of self-denial. Take vows of poverty, live on rice and water, and they will listen to your preaching, as several of our missionaries have found; come to them eating and drinking and dressed in expensive European clothes—and they feel differently. It is far from a perfect test, but there is something in it. At anyrate I am told that Gandhi's influence in India is now enormous, almost equal to that of his friend the late Mr. Gokhale.

And now for the battle. In South Africa there are some 150,000 Indians, chiefly in Natal; and the South African Government, feeling that the colour question in its territories was quite sufficiently difficult already, determined to prevent the immigration of any more Indians, and if possible to expel those who were already there. This last could not be done. It violated a treaty: it was opposed by Natal, where much of the industry depended on Indian labour; and it was objected to by Indian Government and the Home Government. Then began a long struggle. The whites of South Africa determined to make life in South Africa undesirable, if not for all Indians, at least for all Indians above the coolie class. Indians were specially taxed, were made to register in a degrading way, they were classed with Negroes, their thumb-prints were taken by the police as if they were criminals. If owing to the scruples of the Government the law was in any case too lenient, patriotic mobs undertook to remedy the defect. Quite early in the struggle the Indians in South Africa asked Mr. Gandhi to come and help them. He came as a barrister in 1893; he was forbidden to plead. He proved his right to plead; he won his case against the Asiatic Exclusion Act on grounds of constitutional law, and returned to India. Gandhi came again in 1895. He was mobbed and nearly killed at Durban. I will not tell in detail how he settled down eventually in South Africa as a leader and counseller to his people; how he found a settlement in the country outside Durban, where the workers should live directly on the land, and all be bound by a vow of poverty. For many years he was engaged in constant passive resistance to the Government and constant efforts to raise and ennoble the inward life of the Indian community. But he was unlike other strikers or resisters in this: that mostly the resister takes advantage of any difficulty of the Government in order to press

his claim the harder. Gandhi, when the Government was in any difficulty that he thought serious, always relaxed his resistance and offered his help. In 1899 came the Boer War. Gandhi immediately organised an Indian Red Cross unit. There was a popular movement for refusing it and treating it as seditious. But it was needed. The soldiers wanted it served through the War, and was mentioned in despatches, and thanked publicly for its skilful work and courage under fire. In 1904 there was an outbreak of plague in Johannesburg and Gandhi had private hospital opened before the public authorities had begun to act. In 1906 there was a Native rebellion in Natal; Gandhi raised and personally led a corps of stretcher-bearers, whose work seems to have proved particularly dangerous and painful. Gandhi was thanked by the Governor in Natal and shortly afterwards thrown into jail in Johannesburg.

Lastly in 1913, when he was being repeatedly imprisoned among criminals of the lowest class, and his followers were in jail to the number of 2,500; in the very midst of the general strike of Indians in the Transvaal and Natal there occurred the sudden and dangerous railway strike which endangered for the time the very existence of organised society in South Africa. From the ordinary agitator's point of view the game was in Gandhi's hands. He had only to strike his hardest. Instead he gave order for his people to resume work till the Government should be safe again. I cannot say how often he was imprisoned, how often mobbed and assaulted, or what pains were taken to mortify and humiliate him in public. But by 1913 the Indian case had been taken up by Lord Hardinge and the Government of India. An Imperial Commission, reported in his favour on most of the points at issue and an Act was passed according to the Commission's recommendations, entitled the Indian Relief Act.

My sketch is very imperfect; The story forms an extraordinary illustration of a contest which was won, or practically won, by a policy of doing no wrong, committing no violence, but simply enduring all the punishment the other side could inflict until they became weary and ashamed of punishing. A battle of the unaided human soul against overwhelming material force, and it ends by the units of material force gradually deserting their own banners and coming round to the side of the soul!

Persons in power should be very careful how they deal with a man who cares nothing for sensual pleasure, nothing for riches, nothing for comfort or praise or promotion, but is simply determined to do what he believes to be right. He is a dangerous and uncomfortable enemy because his body, which you can always conquer, gives you so little purchase upon his soul. (*Hibbert Journal*).

Lord Hardinge.

Recently your compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands, by organising what is called passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious and unjust, an opinion which we who watch their struggles from a far cannot but share. They have violated, as they intended to violate, those laws, with full knowledge of the penalties involved, and ready with all courage and patience to endure those penalties. In all this they have the sympathy of India—deep and burning—and not only of India, but of all these who, like myself, without being Indians themselves, have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country. *Speech at Madras, December 1913.*

Lord Ampthill.

Mr. Gandhi, has been denounced in this country, even by responsible persons, as an ordinary agitator; there have not even been wanting suggestions that his motives are those of self-interest and pecuniary profit.

A perusal of these pages (Doke's Gandhi) ought to dispel any such notions from the mind of any fair man who has been misled into entertaining them. And with a better knowledge of the man there must come a better knowledge of the matter.

* * *

I have no more earnest hope than that Mr. Gandhi and his fellow countrymen may see the accomplishment of that end, for which they have struggled so bravely and sacrificed so much, before this book is published.

From the Introduction to Rev. Mr. Doke's book "An Indian Patriot in South Africa."

The Lord Bishop of Madras.

I frankly confess, though it deeply grieves me to say it, that I see in Mr. Gandhi, the patient sufferer for the cause of righteousness and mercy, a truer representative of the Crucified Saviour, than the men who have thrown him into prison and yet call themselves by the name of Christ. (Loud applause.)—*Speech at the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium, December*, 1913.

Lord Gladstone.

Mr. Gandhi has shown a single minded devotion to his cause which has won the admiration of all who understand the difficulty and danger of the position. [*Letter to the Chairman of the Reception Committee at the Hotel Cecil, London, 8th August 1914*].

Mr. Bupendranath Basu.

Mr. Gandhi's work in South Africa was known throughout the civilized world. His great devotion for principles won for him the affection of his fellow subjects, and he had received warm admiration from his strongest opponents. Mr. Gandhi's leadership had its strength in devotion to the sacred doctrine of returning love for hate. The Indians in South Africa had followed his leadership with absolute fidelity, being confident of his single-minded zeal for their cause. Mrs. Gandhi's conduct reminded him (Mr. Basu) of the spirit of the women of ancient India. Her work for the husband and for the cause he had taken up were worthy of the best traditions of their country's womanhood.

With Indians working in Mr. Gandhi's spirit, they need never despair for the future of their country. *(Speech at the Reception in London).*

Sir Henry Cotton

Mr. Gandhi had practically won the battle he had been fighting and was returning to India to resume as they all hoped, the practice of his profession under happier auspices than it had been his fate to enjoy in South Africa, and to meet the thousands of his countrymen by whom his name would never be forgotton. (*Farewell in London*).

Mr. Charles Roberts, M. P.

The work which Mr. Gandhi had at heart was mainly accomplished as far as South Africa was concerned, although it might remain to be more completely fulfilled in other parts of the Empire. He should like to take the opportunity of thanking Mr. Gandhi for the help he had rendered to the Ambulance movement, and to testify to the really excellent work which Indians were doing in connection with it. (Hear Hear). It might be that in leaving England Mr. Gandhi felt to some extent disappointed in the hope of giving that help which he had so willingly afforded in South Africa; but the prospect lay before him of more good work in India (Hear, Hear). (*Farewell meeting in London*).

Senator W. P. Schreiner.

He had great pleasure in testifying here that among the pure spirited men who worked for no gain, no profit, many kicks, but with high ideals, they could recommend themselves to Mr. Gandhi. An unselfish man, one whom, he was proud to say, he recognised as a member of the profession to which he himself belonged, and one who in any other calling might have made great gains. In going round with Mr. Gandhi he believed Mr. Gokhale would be introduced, without any bias and bitterness, to the problems in detail which he would have to meet."— (*Speech at the Cape Town Meeting*, Oct. 22, 1912.)

G. K. Gokhale.

Only those who have come in personal contact with Mr. Gandhi as he is now, can realise the wonderful personality of the man. He is without doubt made of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are made. Nay more. He has in him the marvellous spiritual power to turn ordinary men around him into heroes and martyrs. During the recent passive resistance struggle in the Transvaal—would you believe it ?—twenty-seven hundred sentences of imprisonment were borne by our countrymen there under Mr. Gandhi's guidance to uphold the honour of their country. Some of the men among them were very substantial persons, some were small traders but the bulk of them were poor humble individuals, hawkers, working men and so forth, men without education, men not accustomed in their life to think or talk of their country. And yet these men braved the horrors of jail life in the Transvaal and some of them braved them again and again rather than submit to degrading legislation directed against their country. Many homes were broken in the course of that struggle, many families dispersed, some men at one time wealthy lost their all and became paupers, women and children endured untold hardships. But they were touched by Mr. Gandhi's spirit and that had wrought the transformation, thus illustrating the great power which the spirit of man can exercise over human minds and even over physical surroundings. In all my life I have known only two men who have affected me spiritually in the manner that Mr. Gandhi does—our great patriarch, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and my late master Mr. Ranade—men before whom not only are we ashamed of doing anything unworthy, but in whose presence our very minds are afraid of thinking anything that is unworthy. The Indian cause in South Africa has really been built up by Mr. Gandhi. Without self and without stain, he has fought his great fight for this country during a period now of twenty years and India owes an immense debt of gratitude to him. He has sacrificed himself utterly in the service of the cause. He had a splendid practice at the Bar, making as much as £5,000 to £6,000 a year, which is considered to be a very good income for a lawyer in South Africa. But he has given all that up and he lives now on £3 a month like the poorest man in the street. One most striking fact about him is that though he has waged this great struggle so ceaselessly, his mind is absolutely free from all bitterness against Europeans. And in my tour nothing warmed my heart more than to see the universal esteem in which the European community in South Africa holds Mr. Gandhi. At every gathering, leading Europeans, when they come to know that Mr. Gandhi was there, would immediately gather round him anxious to shake hands with him, making it quite clear

that though they fought him hard and tried to crush him in the course of the struggle they honoured him as a man. To my mind Mr. Gandhi's leadership of the Indian cause in South Africa is the greatest asset of that cause and it was an inestimable privilege to me that he was with me throughout my tour to pilot me safely through my difficulties.—*Speech at the Bombay Town Hall Meeting in December 1912.*

Rev. Joseph Doke.

It would be difficult to imagine a life less open to the assaults of pride or sloth, than the life lived here. Everything that can minister to the flesh is abjured. Of all men Mr. Gandhi reminds one of "Purum Dass", of whom Kipling writes:—"He had used his wealth and his power for what he knew both to be worth: he had taken honour when it came in his way; he had seen men and cities far and near, and men and cities had stood up and honoured him. Now he would let these things go as a man drops the cloak he needs no longer." This is a graphic picture of our friend. He simply does what he believes to be his duty, accepts every experience that ensues with calmness, takes honour if it comes without pride: and then, lets it go as a man drops the cloak he needs no longer." In the position of "Purum Bhagat," he would do easily what the Bhagat did, and no one, even now would be surprised to see him go forth at some call which no one else can hear, his crutch under arm, his begging bowl in his hand, an antelope skin flung around him, and a smile of deep content on his lips.

"That man alone is wise
Who keeps the mastery of himself."

From " An Indian Patriot in South Africa."

Mrs. Annie Besant

Among us, as I write, is dwelling for brief space one whose presence is a benediction, and whose feet sanctify every house into which he enters—Gandhi, our Martyr and Saint. He too by strange ways was led into circumstances in which alone could flower all that he brought with him of patient, unwearying courage that naught might daunt, unselfishness that found its joy in sacrifice, endurance so sweetly gentle that its power was not readily understood. As I stood for a moment facing him, hand clasped in hand, I saw in him that deathless Spirit which redeems by suffering, and in death wins life for others, one of those marked out for the high service of becoming Saviours and Helpers of humanity. I who tread the path of the warrior, not that of the Saint, who battle against Enthroned Injustice by assault, not by meakness, I recognise in this man, so frail and yet so mighty, one of those whose names live in history among those of whom it is said; "He saved others: himself he could not save." *New India.*

Sir P. M. Mehta.

"The whole country has resounded with the tale of Mr. Gandhi's great deeds, his courage, his great moral qualities, his labours and his sufferings in the cause of Indians in South Africa. So long as we have Indians like Mr. Gandhi and Indian women like Mrs. Gandhi we need not despair of our country. They show that at the proper time and as occasion may arise they are possessed of the highest qualities of courage, heroism and capacity of endurance and suffering."—*At the Bombay Town Hall Meeting in December, 1912.*

I tell you what I feel sincerely that there has been no more touching episode in the whole history of the campaign than the conversation which Mrs. Gandhi had with her husband before she cast in her lot with him in the Passive Resistance Movement. After the decision of the Supreme Court there denying the legitimacy of Hindu and Mahomedan marriages, she asked him: "Am I your wife or not? I am not your wife if this decision stands, and if I am not your wife, I am not a woman of any true womanhood in the estimation of my own sex, and my children are illegitimate." Mr. Gandhi must have known what it was to expose tender women to the hardships of the campaign, but in spite of his pleading, that brave lady decided to cast in her lot with those men who were fighting for the cause. History records the deeds of many heroines and I feel that Mrs. Gandhi will stand as one of the foremost heroines in the whole world.—*Speech at the Bombay Town Hall Meeting, Dec. 1913,*

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

She (Mrs. Gandhi) sat by her husband's side, simple and serene and dignified in the hour of triumph as she had proved herself simple and serene and dauntless in the hour of trial and tragedy.

I have a vision too of her brave, frail, pain worn hand which must have held aloft the lamp of her country's honour undimmed in one alien land, working at rough garments for wounded soldiers in another.

The great South African leader who, to quote Mr. Gokhale's apt phrase, had moulded heroes out of clay, was reclining, a little ill and weary, on the floor eating his frugal meal of nuts and fruit (which I shared) and his wife was busy and content as though she were a mere modest housewife absorbed in a hundred details of household service, and not the worldfamed heroine of a hundred noble sufferings in a nation's cause.

From letter to Lady Mehta on Mrs. Gandhi, February 1915.

Dr. Subramania Iyer

It is a life every incident in which from the day on which he set his foot on the South African soil to the day on which he left it deserves to be recorded in every vernacular of this country in chaste and impressive language and distributed broadcast so that the knowledge thereof may extend to every man, woman or child (cheers). The work done by him is such as to extort from the historians of this century admiration. Great as has been the work done by him, my conviction is that the work he has done is simply a preparation to what he is destined to do in the future (cheers)

What is wanted in India is not so much martial capacity, physical force, power to threaten other people. We want the soul-force which Mr. Gandhi is trying to work up. Soul-force consists in a man being prepared to undergo any physical or mental suffering, taking the precaution that he will not lay a single finger to inflict physical force upon the other side. It was that soul-force that was manifested by the South African Indians and it was the same force that should be developed in this country. [*Speech in Madras in Welcoming Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, June 1915.*]

Sir Rabindranath Tagore

The power our fellow countrymen have shown in standing firm for their cause under severest trials, fighting unarmed against fearful odds, has given us a firmer faith in the strength of the God that can defy sufferings and defeats at the hands of physical supremacy, that can make its gains of its losses. [*Letter to Mr. Gandhi.*]

Bal Gangadhar Tilak

The duty of every patriot is to insist on the oppressions, miseries and complaints of the people in such a way that they may compel the attention of the Government and force them to bring in reform. Mr. Gandhi did this duty very well, and so he deserves the honour and praise given to him by the public. [*From the Foreword to Mr. Gandhi's "Life" in Marathi.*]

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